Citizenship and Culture
Affaires civiques et culturelles

Aboriginal Cultures of Ontario

A Summary of Definitions and Proposals to Preserve Their Cultural Heritage Made by the Native People of Ontario

Citizenship and Culture
Affaires civiques et culturelles

87-04682/

Aboriginal Cultures of Ontario: A Summary of Definitions and Proposals Made by the Native People of Ontario to Preserve Their Cultural Heritage

by **Paul Driben**

Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture

77 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Canada
M7A 2R9

This research was funded under contract by the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture and the Ministry of Education, Ontario. This report reflects the views of the author and not necessarily those of the ministries.

Published by the
Ministry of Citizenship and Culture.
Printed by the Queen's Printer for Ontario
Province of Ontario, Toronto, Canada
© 1987, Queen's Printer for Ontario

D1798 2/87 3M
ISBN-0-7729-1859-7

Table of Contents

Introduction and Summary i
Acknowledgements v
Chapter One: An Outline of the History and Geographical Location of the Aboriginal People of Ontario 1
Chapter Two: Definitions of Native Culture ... 12
Chapter Three: Proposals made by Iroquoian People to Preserve their Cultural Heritage ... 17
Chapter Four: Proposals made by Algonkian People to Preserve their Cultural Heritage ... 25
Chapter Five: Proposals by Metis and Non-Status Indians to Preserve their Cultural Heritage 36
Chapter Six: Native People in Urban Areas 46
Notes 52
Bibliography 55

Introduction and Summary

In April, 1983, in order to prepare for the 1984 First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal and Treaty Rights, the Ontario Deputy Ministers' Steering Committee on Aboriginal and Treaty Rights asked the ministries of Citizenship and Culture and of Education to prepare a discussion paper on the "preservation of Aboriginal culture(s) [and to] present a range of options for the province to consider in addressing Aboriginal peoples' claim to the right to preserve their culture and language."[1] The present report has been prepared with that discussion paper in mind. Its aim is to present "definitions of Aboriginal or Native culture . . . as articulated by the Native people, what . . . [is] required to assist the Aboriginal people of Ontario to maintain their Aboriginal culture".[2]

In accord with the terms of reference guiding the research, the body of the report is divided into six chapters. Chapter One presents a historical overview of the three main Native cultures in Ontario – Iroquoian, Algonkian, and Metis and non-status Indian – and the geographical location of each group and its subgroups in the province. Chapter Two contains selected definitions that Iroquoians, Algonkians, and Metis and non-status Indians have developed to explain their cultures. Chapters Three, Four, and Five identify, in chronological order, proposals that members of each group have made to preserve their cultural heritage. To highlight these proposals, each of these chapters is divided into five sections. The first focuses on proposals that members of the group have made to preserve the integrity of their social organization, the second on proposals to preserve their economic organization, the third on proposals to preserve their arts and media, the fourth on proposals to preserve their political organization, and the fifth on proposals to preserve their spiritual values and beliefs. The final chapter examines the needs and aspirations of Native people in urban areas. The report also contains notes, and a select bibliography.

Summary

The following two charts summarize the contents of Chapters Two through Six.

Chart 1: Summary of Chapter Two

Definitions that focus on:	Definition proposed by:		
	Iroquoians	Algonkians	Metis and non-status Indians
a) the feeling of unity that members of the culture possess	X		
b) the egalitarian nature of the social organization of the culture	X		
c) the respect that members of the culture have for their traditions	X		
d) the feeling of loss associated with the disappearance of traditional customs	X	X	
e) the uniqueness of the culture in relation to other cultures	X	X	X
f) the positive value of the culture in relation to non-Native cultures		X	
g) the intimate relationship that members of the culture have with the natural environment		X	
h) the emphasis that members of the culture place on living in harmony with nature		X	
i) the loss of Indian status and treaty rights			X
j) the mixed biological ancestry of members of the culture			X
k) the emphasis that members of the culture place on the Native Canadian aspect of their identity			X

Chart 2: Summary of Chapters Three, Four, Five and Six

Proposals to Preserve Native Cultural Heritage	Proposals made by:			
	Iroquoians	Algonkians	Metis and non-status Indians	Native people in urban areas
Regarding Social Organization				
a) allow Native people to control their own education	X	X	X	
b) provide Native people with free medical and dental care	X			
c) allow Native people to control child welfare, the administration of justice, and other social services	X	X	X	X
d) allow Native people to set and control the criteria for membership in Indian bands	X	X		
e) provide Native people with more funds to design and deliver social service programs	X	X	X	X
Regarding Economic Organization				
a) provide Native people with guaranteed access to land and natural resources	X	X		
b) provide Native people with more financial assistance for their economic development	X	X	X	X
c) allow Native people to control their own financial affairs	X			
d) allow Native people to pursue their traditional economic endeavours including hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering		X		
e) allow Native people to participate fully in any plans for resource development		X	X	
Regarding Arts and Media				
a) promote Native arts, crafts and media more extensively	X	X	X	X
b) increase government funding and encourage more hiring for Native people involved in the arts	X	X	X	
c) set up more displays of Native arts and crafts in galleries and museums	X	X		
d) allow Native people to be represented on boards of agencies such as the CBC and CRTC			X	

Proposals to Preserve Native Cultural Heritage	Proposals made by:			
	Iroquoians	Algonkians	Metis and non-status Indians	Native people in urban areas
Regarding Political Organization				
a) allow Native people to participate fully in the constitutional process including the definition of treaty and Aboriginal rights	X	X	X	
b) establish self-government for Native people	X	X		
c) establish a land base for Native communities		X		
d) reinstate the traditional government of the Iroquois	X			
e) increase economic support for Native political organizations		X		
f) eliminate the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development	X	X	X	
g) establish constitutional guarantees for Native representation in Parliament			X	
Regarding Spiritual Values and Beliefs				
a) allow Native people to control their own cultural educational centres and programs	X	X	X	X
b) improve the existing social and economic conditions of Native people		X		X
c) increase public awareness of the history and traditional cultural beliefs of Native people		X	X	X
d) have Native representation on boards and agencies concerned with promoting cross-cultural awareness			X	X

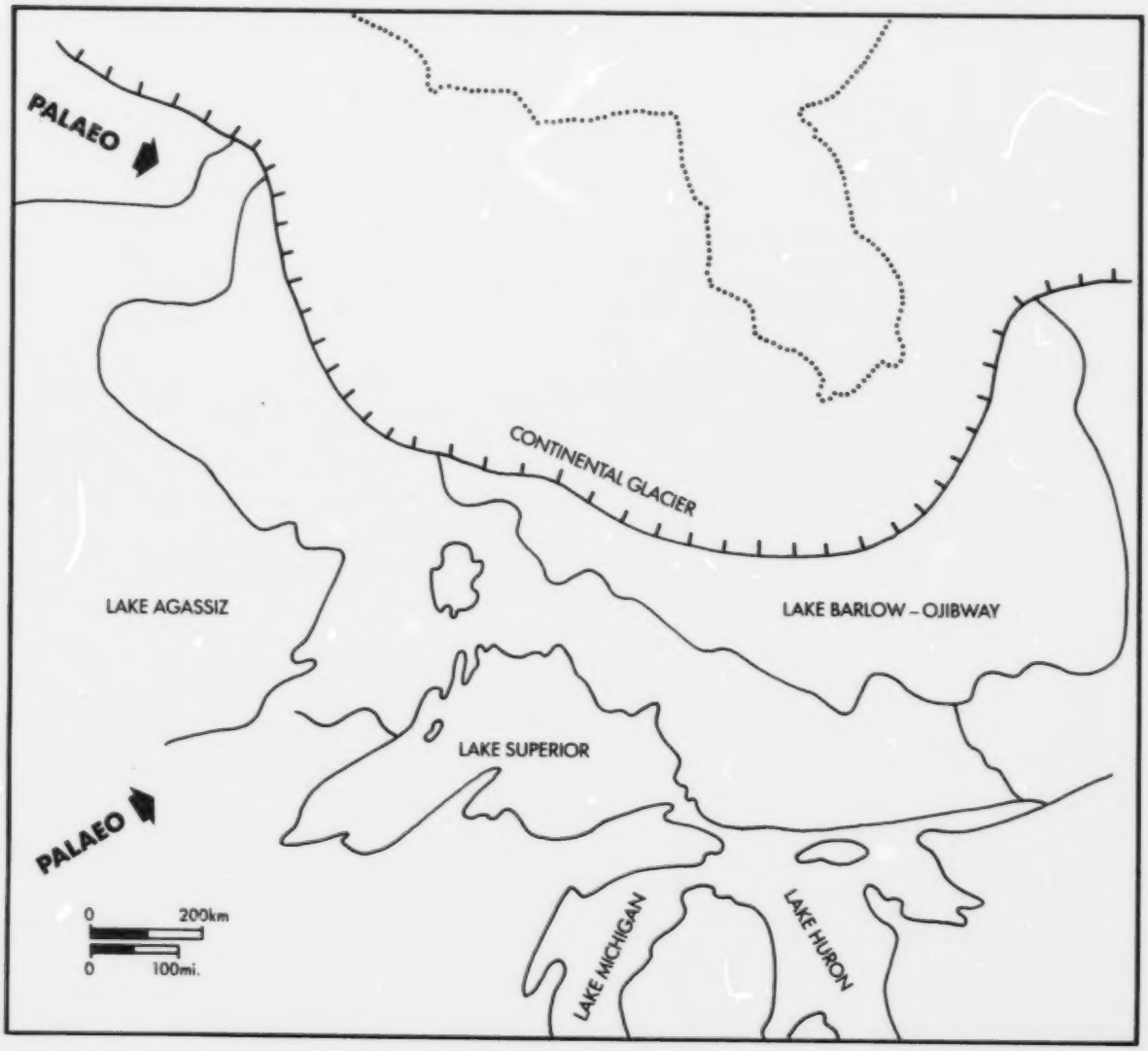
Acknowledgements

Most of the information on which this report is based was found in secondary sources, with special attention paid to documents containing policy statements made by Native people and their organizations. Many individuals helped to guide me to this source material and I would like to take this opportunity to thank them. They include: Mr. Dennis Cromarty, Commissioner, Nishnawbe-Aski Commission; Mr. George Crow, Executive Director, Grand Council Treaty No. 3; Ms. Rochelle Johnson, Co-ordinator, Northern Superior Ojibway Chiefs' Council; Ms. Priscilla Simard, Provincial Co-ordinator, Ontario Native Women's Association; the staff of the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association; the staff of the Chiefs of Ontario Office, and the librarians at Lakehead University, the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture, and the Ministry of Natural Resources. I would also like to offer my thanks to Mr. Fred Boden from the Ministry of Citizenship and Culture; Mr. Keith Lickers from the Ministry of Education; and Dr. David McNab from the Ministry of Natural Resources. Their suggestions added greatly to the report. Of course, I alone am responsible for any errors or omissions.

1. An Outline of the History and Geographical Location of the Aboriginal People of Ontario

The first Native people in Ontario were Palaeo-Indians. They occupied southern Ontario first, arriving there about 11,000 years ago from the American southwest.[1] At the time, northern Ontario was covered by glacial ice, but by about 8,000 years ago the ice in the southern part of northern Ontario had melted, and Palaeo-Indians penetrated the region from the west[2] (see Map 1).

Based on the material remains that the Palaeo-Indians left behind, archaeologists believe that they were highly mobile and lived in small, widely scattered bands that depended on large game animals for their livelihood. Archaeologists also believe that Palaeo-Indian people laid the foundation for the development, about 7,000 years ago, of Laurentian Archaic culture in the south and Shield Archaic



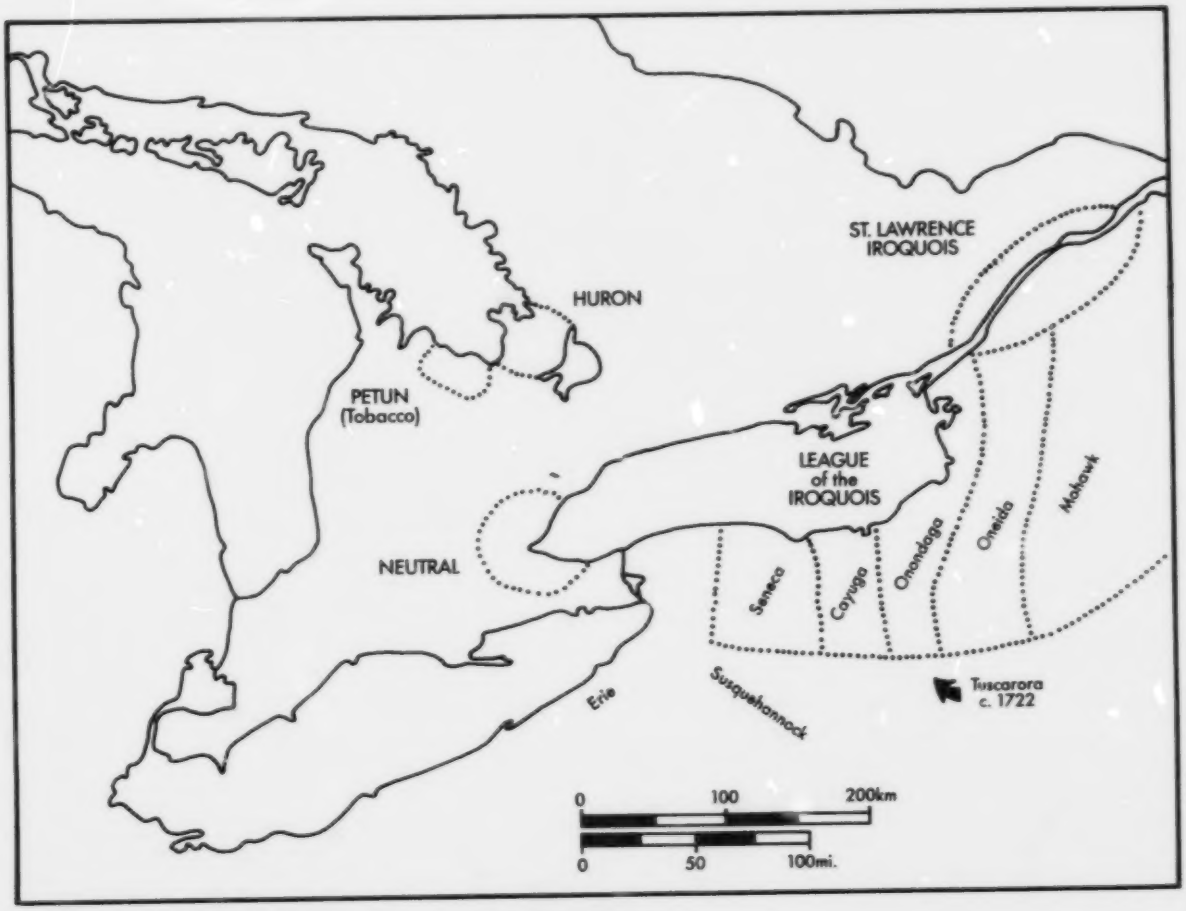
Map 1 Palaeo-Indian movements into northern Ontario

culture in the north – the former representing "the first substantial population of hunters and fishermen to live in Southern Ontario",[3] and the latter people who "followed a way of life nearly identical to that of the northern Algonkian-speakers of the historical period".[4]

About 3,000 years ago, Archaic people began to manufacture pottery. This marks the beginning of the Woodland period.[5] In the south, Woodland people were responsible for the development of historic Iroquois culture; in the north they gave rise to Algonkian culture. It was the descendants of these Woodland Indians whom European traders, missionaries, and explorers encountered when they first came to Ontario.

Iroquoian History

At the time of European contact, there were about 18,000 Iroquois in Ontario.[6] They were divided into 11 major tribes, four of which occupied the southern portion of the province – the St. Lawrence Iroquois in the east, the Huron between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, the Petun or Tobacco Indians in the Collingwood area just west of Huronia, and the Neutral around the Hamilton-Brantford area. The seven remaining tribes, namely, the Erie, Susquehannock, Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and Mohawk, were located immediately south of Lakes Ontario and Erie[7] (see Map 2). Five of these latter tribes – the Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Oneida, and



Map 2 Pre-contact Distribution of Iroquoian speakers

Mohawk – were organized into a political confederacy called the "League of the Iroquois". In 1722, the Tuscarora joined the League; hence the term "Six Nations" by which the league is known today.[8]

When Europeans first encountered Iroquoian people they found them living in villages surrounded by log stockades, each village containing from 300 to 400 families and 50 to 100 longhouses. The people in the villages relied on horticulture to support themselves, raising crops such as corn, beans, and squash, and supplementing their diet with game, fish, birds, and wild plants.

The social organization of the Iroquoians was based on families, clans, and phratries. Their families, which included between 50 and 200 people, were composed "of a head woman or matron, her sisters and their immediate descendants, both sons and daughters".[9] Their clans "consisted of those maternal families tracing descent from a common ancestor through the female line. Members of one clan could not intermarry; they could marry only individuals of other clans".[10] The clans were grouped into larger social units called phratries which formed the tribe.[11]

Through warfare, young men gained prestige, tribal vengeance was exacted, and religious ideals were realized. Warfare was an "inescapable part of [traditional] Iroquoian life".[12] However, with the aid of guns and iron hatchets acquired from Europeans, the League of the Iroquois, in large part to allow its member tribes to maintain their position as middlemen in the fur trade, waged an all-out war against the Huron, Petun, and Neutral and overran them in the mid-seventeenth century.[13]

Following the League's annihilation of their Iroquoian adversaries, southern Ontario was occupied by Algonkian Indians from the north. But during the American Revolution (1775 to 1783) the League of the Iroquois allied itself with Britain, "and when their lands were forfeited to the Americans, they were promised land by the British. They were originally settled on land in the Cataraqui district of the Bay of Quinte, but Joseph Brant, a Mohawk leader, negotiated for the land of the Grand River valley. In 1784, they were granted land six miles . . . on . . . [each] side of the Grand River from its source to its mouth . . . "[14]

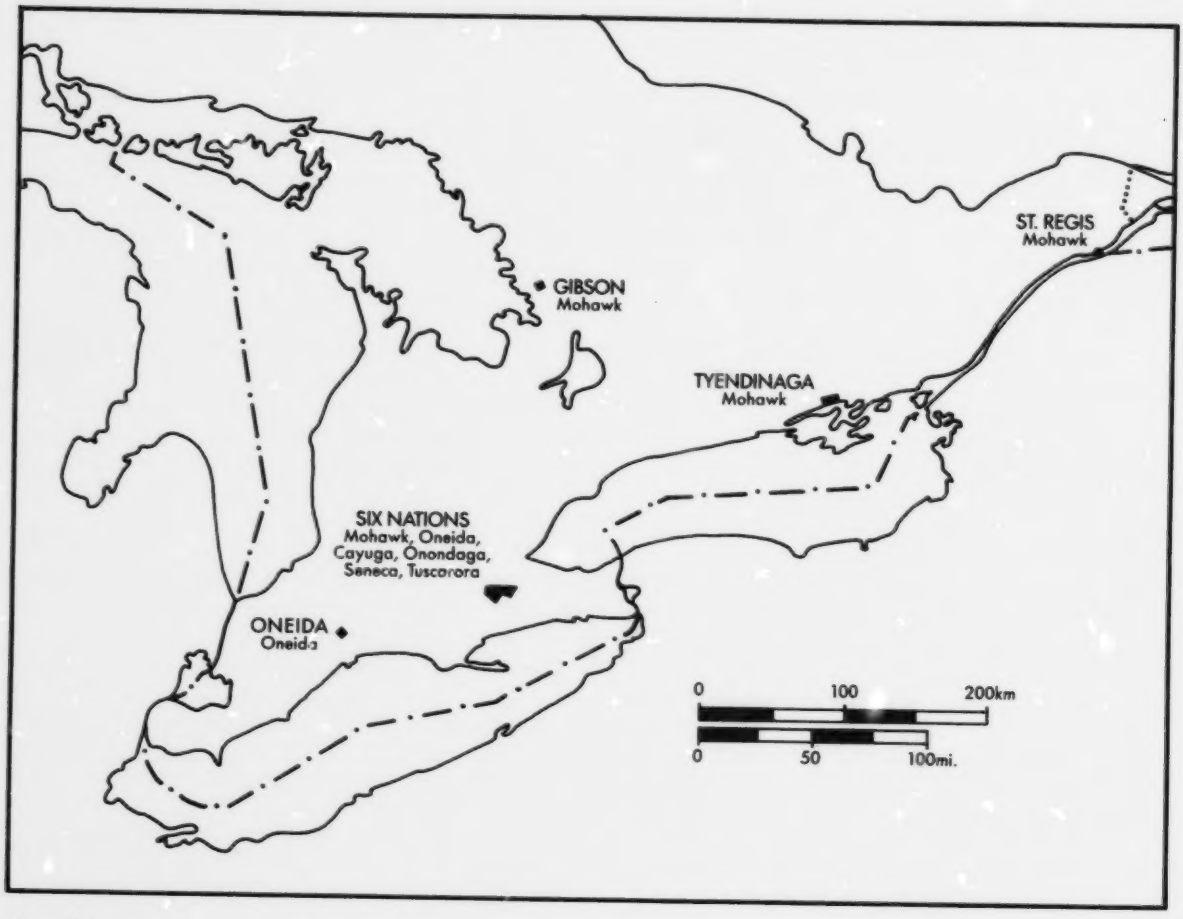
Most of this land was ceded to and purchased by Britain from the Mississagua Indians. After some was sold by Brant, it became the original Six Nations Reserve. Some of the Mohawks, however, under the leadership of John Deseronto, remained at the Bay of Quinte where a second Iroquois reserve – the Tyendinaga Reserve – was also established in 1784.

In 1791, following an influx of United Empire Loyalists, Britain created the Province of Upper Canada. Following the War of 1812-14, more European settlers arrived. In fact, between 1791 and 1838, the number of European settlers in Upper Canada increased from 4,000 to 400,000.[15] As a consequence the Iroquois became less important as military allies, especially after the War of 1812-14, when peace was restored between Britain and the United States. In association with these events, the Iroquoians became subject to more government control.[16] By Confederation, a number of laws had been passed to "protect and civilize" the Indians.[17] When the British North America Act was passed in 1867, the Iroquois and other Canadian Indians came under the legislative jurisdiction of the federal government. Later, in 1876, a number of laws governing Indians in what was formerly Upper and Lower Canada and the Province of Canada were consolidated into the first Indian Act. This gave the federal government additional powers to regulate Indian affairs.

Since the late nineteenth century, Iroquois culture has changed in significant ways. As the anthropologist Edward S. Rogers has explained:

> [Although many] Iroquoians still wish to maintain their former system of chieftainship which the government has tried to abolish . . . [t]heir political system has altered and now they . . . are no longer able to carry out all political decisions on their own. Today families no longer live in large maternal families within a "Long House", but rather in nuclear families in individual homes. Perhaps the most resistant to change has been their religious system. Their faith in the "Long House" still remains . . . Many years ago it was rejuvenated by the inspiration of Handsome Lake who formulated the . . . [Handsome Lake Code]. Many Iroquoians to this day still adhere to this faith with great religious fervour.[18]

Today there are five Iroquois reserves in Southern Ontario – the Six Nations Indian Reserve (No. 40), the Tyendinaga Indian Reserve (No. 38), the Oneidas of the Thames Indian Reserve (No. 41), the Gibson Indian Reserve (No. 31), and the Akwesasne (St. Regis) Indian Reserve[19] (see Map 3). Almost 12,000 people live on these reserves.[20] There are also about 7,000 Iroquoian people living off-reserve.[21] At the local level the Iroquois are represented by chiefs and band councils. At the provincial level they are represented by the Chiefs of Ontario, the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA), and, with the exception of the members of the Six Nations and Tyendinaga reserves, by the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians (AIAI). At the national level the Iroquois are represented by the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) – formerly the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB) – and the Native Women's Association of Canada.



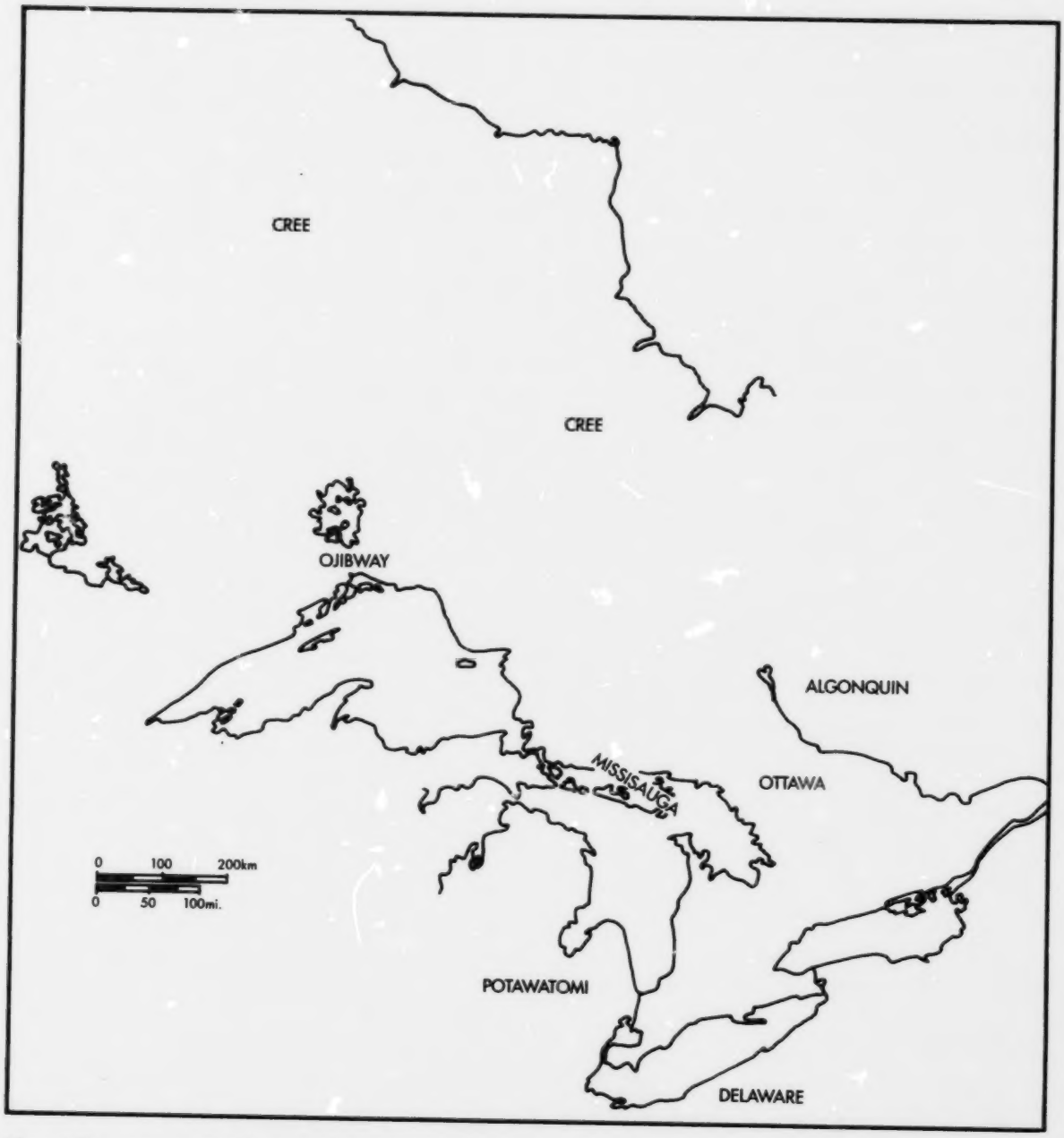
Map 3 Iroquoian reserves in Ontario

Algonkian History

At contact, the Algonkian descendants of Woodland people occupied and used almost all of Ontario.[22] The Ojibway, who are also called Chippewa, were the largest Algonkian tribe.

They controlled all the northern shores of lakes Huron and Superior from Georgian bay to the edge of the prairies, and at the height of land north of Lake Superior where the rivers begin to flow towards Hudson bay they united with their near kinsmen, the Cree. So numerous were they, and so large a territory did they cover, that we may separate them into four distinct groups or tribes . . . the Ojibwa of the Lake Superior region, the Missisauga ("people of the large river mouth") of Manitoulin island and of the mainland around the Missisauga river, the Ottawa ("Traders") of the Georgian Bay region, and the Potawatomi, ("people of the place of fire") on the west side of lake Huron within the state of Michigan, some of whom moved across into Ontario in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Three of these four tribes, the Lake Superior Ojibwa, the Ottawa, and the Potawatomi, formed a loose confederacy that became known in the eighteenth century as the Council of the Three Fires.[23]

Other Algonkian tribes in Ontario include the Cree who, at the time of contact, were in control of most of northern Ontario; the Algonquin who occupied the territory south of the Cree, east of the Ojibway, and north of the Huron, Petun, and Neutral; and finally a few Delaware who settled in southern Ontario after the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812-14[24] (see Map 4).

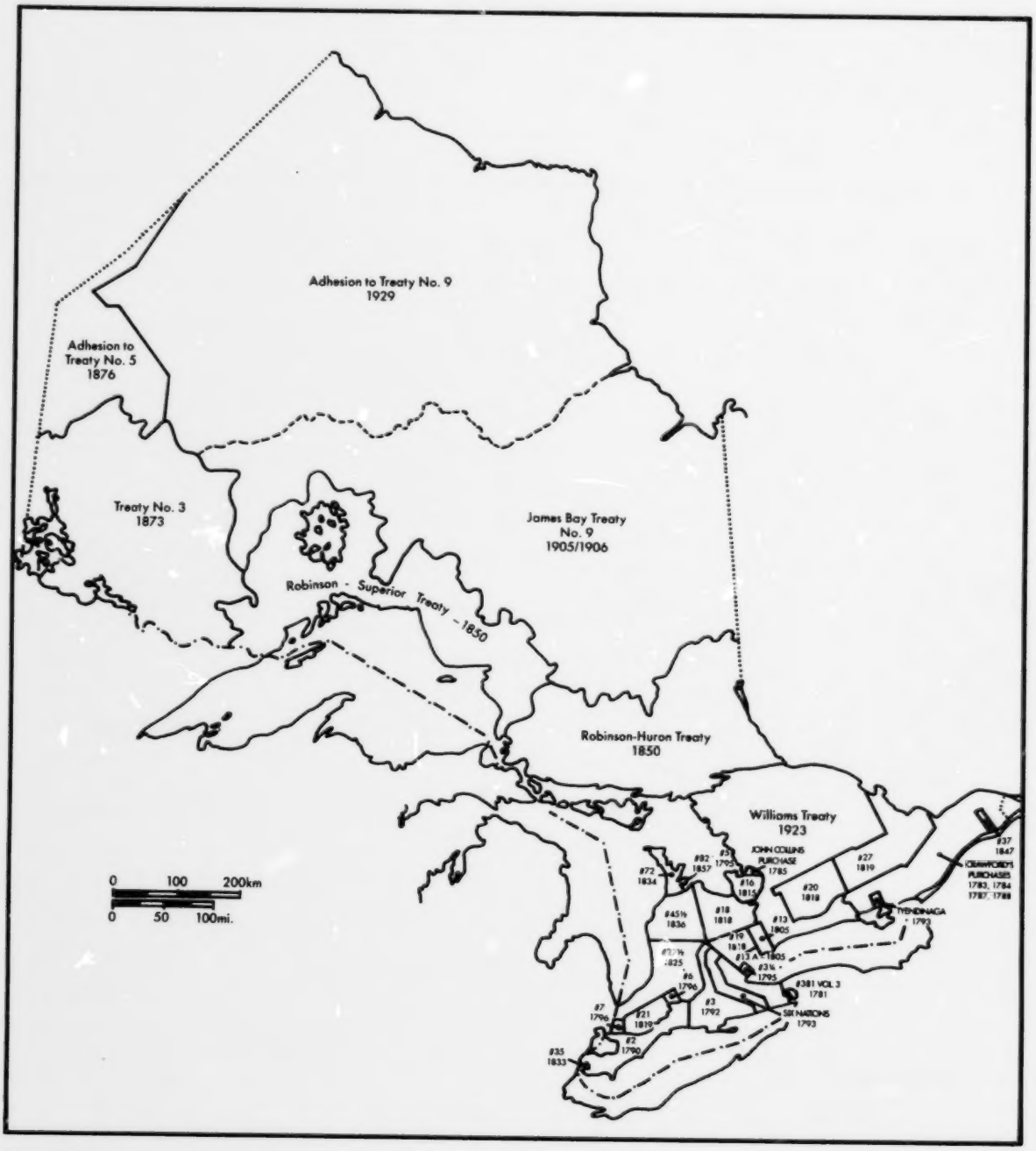


Map 4 Pre-contact distribution of Algonkian speakers

Although groups such as the Ottawa and Potawatomi, who lived alongside the Iroquoians, occasionally established semi-permanent villages and practised horticulture, the majority of the Algonkians were organized into hunting bands which usually contained no more than several hundred people.[25] In the winter, the bands were divided into groups of 20 to 30 whose principal food resource was large game such as caribou and moose.[26] In the summer the smaller groups joined together at good fishing locations where the people netted and speared large quantities of whitefish, northern pike, and sturgeon.[27] They also relied on small game animals and birds for food and collected maple syrup and wild rice. Thus, unlike the Iroquoians, the Algonkians were hunters rather than horticulturalists, nomadic rather than sedentary, and did not possess an elaborate political organization. Nor was warfare a central feature of Algonkian life. Another difference between the two cultures was that the clans of the Algonkians were patrilineal, rather than matrilineal, which means that the people traced their descent through the male, rather than the female line.

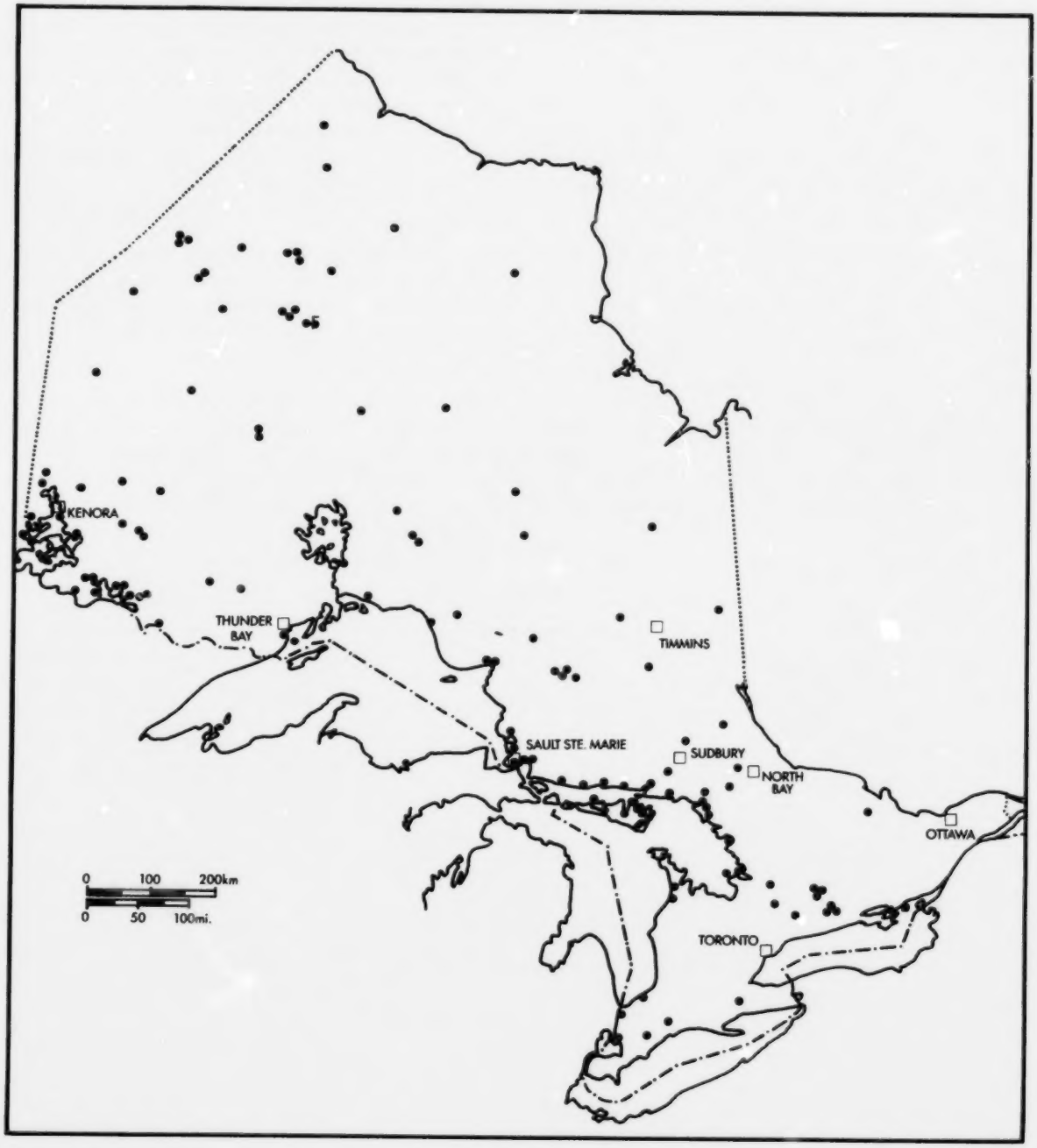
During the latter part of the seventeenth century the Algonkians became involved in the fur trade and its associated activities, resulting in profound changes in their culture. In the north, small fur-bearing animals such as beaver and muskrat became just as important as the game, fish, and birds that the people continued to hunt.[28] Since there was a serious shortage of large game animals in northern Ontario during most of the nineteenth century, the Algonkians became more dependent on European traders for their food and goods. No less important was the merger of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company in 1821, for this meant that the Indians no longer could "play off" one trader against another as they had done when the companies were in competition.[29] It was also during this period that family hunting territories emerged among the northern Algonkians, primarily to help regulate access to scarce game and furs.[30]

Meanwhile, in the south, increased European settlement after the American Revolutionary War, coupled with the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which stated that only the Crown could purchase Indian hunting territories, led to the negotiation of a number of treaties with Algonkian people. The first treaties covered the land in what is now southern Ontario,[31] but as Europeans pushed west and then north, other treaties were made, including: the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior treaties in 1850 with the Ojibway; Treaty No. 3 in 1873 with the Ojibway; Treaty No. 9 in 1905-06 with the Ojibway and Cree; the adhesions to the latter two treaties; and also an adhesion to Treaty No. 5, which was made with the Cree and Ojibway in 1876[32] (see Map 5).



Map 5 Treaty areas in Ontario

It was under the auspices of these treaties that many reserves were set aside for Algonkian people (see Map 6). Current estimates place the on-reserve Algonkian population at about 33,000, and the off-reserve population at about 17,000.[33] Although the governments of Canada and Ontario have become



Map 6 Algonkian reserves in Ontario

intimately involved in the lives of the Algonkians since the treaties were made and the reserves were established, "[t]he fact remains that for all that the Indians [especially those in the north] . . . have had to endure at the hands of the Euro-Canadians in their endeavours to assist the Native people and in the face of a changing environment, the Indians have not become assimilated into Western society. Fundamentally, they remain Ojibwa and Cree in spirit and outlook."[34]

Like the Iroquoians, the Algonkians who live on reserves are represented by chiefs and band councils. At the provincial level they are represented by the Union of Ontario Indians, Grand Council Treaty No. 3, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation (formerly Grand Council Treaty No. 9), the Chiefs of Ontario, and the Ontario Native Women's Association. At the national level they are represented by the Assembly of First Nations and the Native Women's Association of Canada.

A Brief History of Metis and Non-Status Indians

Although there are differences between Metis and non-status Indians, they have a common interest inasmuch as the people who belong to both of these groups are not entitled to be registered as Indians under the Indian Act and are not allowed to live on reserves. Having been legally and geographically separated from Indians in this way, Metis and non-status Indian people have joined together in organizations such as the Native Council of Canada (NCC) and the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association (OMNSIA). The former represents Metis and non-status Indian people at the national level, and the latter represents them at the provincial level. OMNSIA estimates that there are about 100,000 Metis and non-status Indians in Ontario.[35] Map 7 shows the location of OMNSIA's local offices in the province.

Scholars generally trace the history of the Metis to the early part of the nineteenth century – to Metis leaders such as Cuthbert Grant,[36] Louis Riel,[37] and Gabriel Dumont.[38] More often than not, the Metis are also regarded as a population that emerged in Western Canada, in the Red River country, and then moved across the prairies in association with the westward expansion of the fur trade. Two Metis military actions – the Red River Resistance in 1869-70 and the Northwest Resistance in 1885 – have also come in for special consideration by those interested in the Metis. Yet it is likely that Metis people first emerged as distinct cultural groups in Ontario rather than in the west, most likely in what is now the northern part of the province.

In southern Ontario, among matrilineal tribes such as the Iroquois, the offspring of British and French fur traders and Indian women likely were incorporated directly into Native society since membership was determined by descent through the female line, and their mothers were Indian. However, in the north, among Algonkian people, who traced their descent through the male line, the offspring of European fathers and Indian mothers likely could not be incorporated directly into the Indians' society on account of their fathers. Nor were they usually incorporated into European society. Instead, they formed their own society based primarily but not exclusively on the fur trade, in which many Metis found employment as guides, translators and intermediaries between Indians and Europeans.

For instance, at Moose Factory:

> [M]ost of the H.B.C. personnel, over the course of over two hundred years, had been single males (or married men who left their wives in the "Old Country"). Naturally there were a number of children born with European fathers and Indian mothers; it was not uncommon for the family to be abandoned when the man's contract expired . . . Sometimes referred to as "country-born", the halfbreeds were valued as traders and missionaries for they were usually fluently bilingual and understood both cultures. Learning to speak English and becoming familiar with European habits and attitudes did not detract from the "Nativeness" of a halfbreed who could speak Cree, paddle a canoe or run on snowshoes, and obtain "country food" like rabbits, geese, beaver and moose.[39]

Presumably, similar situations prevailed at other locations such as Fort Frances, Fort William, and at Sault Ste. Marie. For instance, according to a letter written in 1893, the Metis at Sault Ste. Marie were a distinct community and "made their own laws, rules and regulations".[40] The author of the letter also said that the Metis:

> were quite handy with tools in carpenter work and boat building and some very good blacksmithing which they learned while in the Hudson's Bay Company's employee and was quite able to do a good many things for there own use such as shoeing their horses, making sleights building houses, and fishing boats . . . They made a living for the first few years by trapping and hunting in the winter and making maple sugar in the spring, and fishing and voyaging in the summer time. Later on when the Americans on the opposite side of the river began to build up their town, and the steam boats began to navigate the lakes and river the young men found employment in the winter choping cordwood and carrying the mails for the americans some to Saginaw Bay in Lake Huron four hundred and fifty miles which made a trip of nine hundred and the old men stayed at home looking after the cattle getting fire wood and fishing for hering with nets under the ice.[41]

There was also a Metis community in the Rainy Lake/Rainy River district which, in 1873, facilitated the signing of Treaty No. 3 with the Ojibway, primar-

Map 7 OMNSIA locals in Ontario

ily by serving as "reporters, interpreters and witnesses".[42] Later, in 1875, apparently because of the role they played in the Treaty No. 3 negotiations, the Metis in the Rainy Lake/Rainy river district signed an adhesion to Treaty No. 3. Aside from this adhesion no other treaties have been made between Metis people in Ontario and the Canadian government, although some Metis likely were listed as Metis or as treaty Indians when the Robinson-Huron and Robinson-Superior treaties were made in 1850, and also when Treaty No. 9 was negotiated in 1905–06.[43] Metis people in Ontario did, however, petition the government for land and other treaty rights including annuity payments.[44]

Until the mid-nineteenth century there were no significant legal differences between Metis and Indian people. One of the best examples of this is the definition of an Indian which appeared in *An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada* which was passed in 1850. It defined Indians as follows:

> *First.* – All persons of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the particular body or tribe of Indians interested in such lands, and their descendants.
>
> *Secondly.* – All persons intermarried with any such Indians and residing amongst them, and the descendants of all such persons.
>
> *Thirdly.* – All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents on either side were or are Indians of such Body or Tribe, or entitled to be considered as such: And
>
> *Fourthly.* – All persons adopted in infancy by any such Indians, and residing in the Village or upon the lands of such Tribe or Body of Indians, and their descendants.[45]

In 1851 this act was amended, but the new definition that appeared was still broad enough to include Metis.[46] Metis were also recognized as Indians in another important legislative document from the pre-Confederation era. It was titled *An Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to amend the Laws respecting Indians.* However, this law, which was passed in 1857, created a new class of Native people called enfranchised Indians:

> The Visiting Superintendent of each Tribe of Indians . . . shall be Commissioners for examining Indians . . . and if . . . [they] report . . . that any . . . Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty-one years of age, is able to speak, read and write either the english or the french language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt, then . . . such Indian is enfranchised under this act; and the provisions of . . . all . . . enactments making any distinction between the legal rights of . . . Indians and those of Her Majesty's other subjects shall cease to apply to any Indian so declared to be enfranchised, who shall no longer be deemed an Indian within the meaning thereof . . .[47]

Voluntary enfranchisement was also a feature of this act, as well as the automatic enfranchisement of the wives and lineal descendants of enfranchised Indian men. The enfranchised Indians created by this law became Canada's first non-status Indians. Moreover, since the act did not draw a distinction between Indians and Metis, enfranchisement was possible for members of both groups. In 1876, when the first Indian Act was passed, the definition of an Indian was narrowed and Metis people were no longer considered to be Indians.[48]

Although legislation governing enfranchisement has changed since 1857, the procedure remained intact until the 1980s. While Indian people still can apply for voluntary enfranchisement, the two most common methods by which Indians are enfranchised are through the operation of sections 12(1)(b) and 12(1)(iv) of the Indian Act. Until 1981, in accord with section 12(1)(b), upon the marriage of an Indian woman to a non-Indian man, the woman was automatically enfranchised. So, too, according to section 12(1)(iv), were persons whose mother and paternal grandmother were not status Indians by birth – the so-called double mother clause. However, in 1981, provisions were "invoked to allow bands to request exemption from discriminatory clauses of the Indian Act. By the end of the 1981-1982 fiscal year 275 bands had asked to be exempted from section 12(1)(iv) and 47 bands had requested exemption from section 12(1)(b)".[49]

It is also significant that, unlike Indians, Inuit, and Metis, non-status Indians are not specifically identified as Aboriginal people under the terms of the Constitution Act, 1981.[50]

2. Definitions of Native Culture

It is extremely difficult to define Native culture in Ontario from a Native point of view since the definitions that Native people have proposed differ in significant ways. Some define their culture by focusing on customs that they believe capture the essence of their most sacred values and beliefs; others define their culture by emphasizing the destruction of their social organization through contact and at the hands of non-Natives. Still others have proposed definitions that deal primarily with the issue of legal status. Despite this variation, there is a common thread that runs through these definitions – no matter what their focus they all attempt to identify the criteria on which membership in Native society is based.

Although by no means a complete or even a random sample, the definitions that are presented in this chapter identify many of these criteria. The definitions are grouped into three categories: those proposed by Iroquoian people, those proposed by Algonkian people, and those proposed by Metis and non-status Indians. The material is presented in chronological order and, whenever possible, includes the identity of the author(s) or speaker(s). No other significant commentary or interpretation is provided in order to allow the Native people to speak for themselves.

Definitions Proposed by Iroquoian People

In 1654, an unknown Mohawk chief known only as the "Flemish bastard", pointed out to French officials that, despite being a confederacy, the League of the Iroquois represented people who considered themselves to be members of the same culture.

> We, the five Iroquois nations, compose but one cabin; we maintain but one fire; and we have, from time immemorial, dwelt under one and the same roof.[1]

In the 1780s, the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant compared European society to his own. In doing so he placed a strong emphasis on the egalitarian nature of his society and on the Iroquoians' respect for the law.

> [W]e have *No* prisons; we have no pompous parade of courts, we have no written laws; and yet judges are as highly revered amongst us as they are among you, and their decisions are as much regarded.
>
> Property, to say the least, is well-guarded, and crimes are as impartially punished. We have among us no splendid villains above the control of our laws. Daring wickedness is here never suffered to triumph over helpless innocence. The estates of widows and orphans are never devoured by enterprising sharpers. In a word, we have no robbery under the color of law. No person among us desires any other reward for performing a brave and worthy action, but the consciousness of having served his nation. Our wise men are called fathers; they truly sustain that character. They are always accessible . . .[2]

In 1969, Mr. J. S. Powless, from the Six Nations Indian Reserve, drew an analogy to explain the nature of Native culture to non-Natives.

> Let us create a hypothetical situation and suppose that Japan invades or infiltrates Canada, and proceeds to take over all reins of authority and also proceeds to enforce its language, customs, and institutions on the Canadian people. The Canadian people would naturally rebel against the Japanese. The Japanese would have two alternatives: annihilate the natives, as the English did in Newfoundland; or divide and conquer, as the Europeans did on the North American mainland. If the divide-and-conquer theory were used by the Japanese, a terrific resentment against them would be built up by the Canadian people. This is exactly what happened between the White Europeans and the North American Native people.
>
> Down through the years many schemes were used by the Europeans to divide, conquer, and subdue the North American Native people. They cajoled them, cheated them, stole from them, made unrealistic promises, and at the same time, by using their armed forces and police, bossed them with an iron fist.
>
> Can you honestly wonder why the North American Native people are in many instances bitter, hostile people, and why, in many areas, there is enmity toward the people who forced their will upon them?
>
> Let us now go back to the hypothetical Japanese invasion or infiltration of Canada. They are now, after three or four hundred years, firmly in the driver's seat. During these several hundreds of years, the Japanese have continually attempted to brainwash the Canadian people and induce them to accept their customs, traditions, institutions, and language. While attempting this brainwashing technique, they have tolerated the Canadian people and have watched those Canadians who refused to accept their customs and traditions slide lower and lower into the valley of despair, poverty, and deprivation.
>
> The Japanese have offered the Canadian people the right to live among them – on condition that the Canadian people adopt their customs, language, traditions, and institutions. They have offered to educate the Canadian people – on condition that the Canadian people accept the Japanese form of education and learn the things that the

Japanese want them to learn. The Japanese have also offered the Canadian people religion – on condition that it is the Japanese religion and is taught by Japanese clergy.

The years have rolled by since this hypothetical Japanese invasion; generations of people have come and gone. The Canadian people have almost completely lost their culture, customs, traditions, and language. Most of the Canadian people who have adopted the Japanese way of life have intermarried with the Japanese, and although many still call themselves Canadians, they are often almost completely Japanese.

The Canadians have become so much like their Japanese conquerors that they no longer present an obstacle in the path of the Japanese development of their resources. The Canadian people are attending Japanese institutions of higher learning and are gradually leaving their reserves and entering into the mainstream of Japanese life. Thousands of Canadians are now working for and with the Japanese.

Down through the years, the Japanese in Canada have also lost and/or discarded many of their Japanese homeland customs and traditions, and have come to think of themselves as Canadians rather than Japanese. They have adopted a distinct Canadian flag with no trace of the homeland Japanese flag. They have appointed a Canadian to the Senate. A Canadian has even been elected by the Japanese to represent them in the federal Parliament.

End of hypothesis.[3]

In 1974, Ms. Marlene Castellano, a Mohawk from the Bay of Quinte who is a member of the Native Studies Department at Trent University, wrote about the evolution of Indian identity and proposed the following definition of Indian culture:

Until very recently young Indians have felt compelled to make the choice: will I be Indian or will I be white? The alternatives have been defined by whites and accepted, as given, by Indians. Those who chose to pursue success on these terms could survive only by embracing white values which then operated as a filter through which acculturated Indians saw and judged their people.

Not until the 1960's was there evidence that Indians were beginning to reject the evaluation which white society had assigned to them, and to protest the artificial separation of Indian and white life styles. Sensitive and capable young Indians began to grapple with the philosophical and practical problems of integrating 20th century skills with Indian identity and even though the formulations which have emerged so far are tentative and untested, they have fired the enthusiasm of Indians of all ages . . .

The monolithic structure of Western industrial society, which has appeared ready and able to crush anyone who refused or failed to comply with its demands, is itself cracking and in the ferment of change hope is springing up that Indians too can find a place for themselves in the new order.

What is needed to translate this hope into experience is a new definition of what it is to be Indian, formulated not in terms of deviation from white norms but in terms of what Indians value in their communal life. To have meaning, this Indian identity must be lived as well as talked about, and this will require Indian technicians as well as philosophers, teachers as well as politicians.[4]

In 1980, Mr. Al Chrisjohn, a staff writer for the magazine *Ontario Indian*, wrote about the factors that divided and united Indian people and their cultures.

The truth of the matter is that Oneida, Ojibways, Crees and Inuit are all different folks. They are as different from each other as Germans are from Italians and Swedes from Yugoslavs.

There are common goals between the original inhabitants of this continent to be sure. In various ways we all have a special relationship with the dominant governments through our treaties and other agreements. In many ways we have all suffered the same fate in that most of our deals with these governments have not been kept.

We share the common goal of working towards self-determination. We also, in a less attractive light, share a blighted economic condition. Some of us have retained, and continue to share with each other, legal understandings of co-operation through ancient agreements between our nations that pre-date European contact.

These are key areas where unity can be applied to our common benefit.

But this is not what is happening. Instead, we seem to be spending an inordinate amount of time attempting to break down these cultural differences. Too many of us see these, not as differences, but as barriers. They choose to see them in a negative light . . .

I feel that unity is something that should be striven for, but only in those areas where it can be applied in a practical and real sense. Let's not ignore those cultural differences that exist between us. Let's work to strengthen those areas of common concern. In our quest for unity we should take care not to lose something of value. We should avoid the fate of the larger Canadian society that is currently tearing itself apart in search for a national identity. We have them and I like them. Let's keep them.[5]

Definitions Proposed by Algonkian People

One of the earliest definitions of Algonkian culture was proposed in the 1760s by Minavavana, chief of the Ojibways on Mackinac Island.

Englishman . . . we are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance; and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, cannot live without bread – and pork – and beef! But, you ought to know, that he, the Great Spirit and master of life, has provided food for us, in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.[6]

In 1847, George Copway, an Ojibway and a methodist clergyman, defined his culture from his own unique point of view.

I was born in *nature's wide domain*! The trees were all that sheltered my infant limbs – the blue heavens all that covered me. I am one of nature's children; I have always

admired her; she shall be my glory; her features – her robes, and the wreath about her brow – the seasons – her stately oaks, and the evergreen – her hair, ringlets over the earth – all contribute to my enduring love of her; and whenever I see her, emotions of pleasure roll in my breast, and swell and burst like waves on the shores of the ocean, in prayer and praise to him who has placed me in her hand. It is thought great to be born in palaces, surrounded with wealth – but to be born in nature's wide domain is greater still![7]

In 1849, Shinguaconse, Chief of the Garden River Ojibway, told British colonial officials that they could not understand Native culture without coming to grips with the fact that Indian people were first and foremost human beings.

We are men like you, we have the limbs of men, we have the hearts of men, and we feel and know that all this country is ours.[8]

More recently, in 1974, Mr. Basil Johnston from the Cape Croker Reserve, a noted Ojibway author and now on the staff of the Royal Ontario Museum, wrote about the history of Indian culture and the conditions that are necessary for that culture to evolve.

Divested of his lands, religion, and reputation; deprived of his leaders; placed on reservations which were for the most part unproductive, and, finally, made dependent on governments, the Indians felt their moral and physical vitality draining away. Indian passivity and declining numbers were construed as the end of the trail. Communities and persons now succumbed to the forces of decrepitude . . .

Unable to feed, clothe and shelter his family adequately; unable to secure any but the meanest and lowest paying jobs; unfamiliar with a strange language and unacquainted with alien customs, the Indian became discouraged and dispirited. Men and women turned to alcohol and families disintegrated. The children of broken and unhappy homes were often consigned to Residential Schools where they were far from their parents, their friends and their homes. Fathers, mothers and children became, in the process, alienated.

The malaise spread from family to community: estrangement from family found concurrent alienation from community. Induced by a sense of shame and incompetence many Indian men and women neglected their language, history and culture. These unfortunates and others who were encouraged by legislation which promoted enfranchisement by promise of economic, social and political emancipation, sold their heritage and severed their connections with their family, their friends and their homes. Indians who took this course found themselves in a no-man's land; at home, rejection; outside, non-acceptance. For these people only pity and compassion welcomed them.

Four centuries and a half of despoilation had reduced the Indian to poverty; four and a half centuries of broken promises and treaties had irrevocably scarred the Indian. From proud, independent, resourceful and amicable peoples, Indians became dependent, discouraged, distrustful and disillusioned. In the space of four hundred and seventy years they were reduced to beggary and despondency . . .

While many Indian people became discouraged and dispirited over the centuries, fortunately, some still retained their strength with resolution. And if there is a stirring, an awakening at the present day, it is because these few have retained sufficient pride to enable them to express confidence. Thus, the stirring is the voice of a regeneration.

But before the Indian people can move forward and break down economic, social, and political impediments, the mass of the people must first overcome their want of confidence. In this sense the issue becomes a case of books or intellectual growth before bread. At the political level, they must seize and conduct their own community affairs. At another level they must look to the past for inspiration. Having done this, Indians will then realize their capacities and find vigour, strength, and respect in the accomplishments of their forebearers.[9]

In 1978, Grand Council Treaty No. 3 contrasted Ojibway and European culture in terms of the way in which people use and perceive the environment.

[The] need to dominate [the environment] is clearly evident in the white man's economic system. In order to maximize his relationship to his environment, the white man frequently exploits the environment to its maximum limits, the Ojibway, however, sees himself as part of the order of nature . . .

[A]llow me give an example. Indian medical experts will extract a medicinal herb from the earth but not before sacred tobacco is placed from where the herb is removed, the Indian medical expert only takes as much as he needs to cure the ailment – no more. If the Euro-Canadian happens upon this herb as a remedy, he will exploit if for mass consumption and will conduct experiments to see if the herb's curative powers cannot be duplicated synthetically for economic reasons. The white man's chief concern quickly becomes the marketability of the herb for economic profit. The Indian approach meets their immediate needs: the Euro-Canadian approach meets their profit and cumulative requirements. The Indian way is conservation: the white way is exploitive.[10]

In 1981, Ms. Renate Andres, a staff writer for *Ontario Indian*, proposed the following definition of Indian culture:

When one refers to Indian culture, one must simultaneously perceive a traditional and historical value system, and the cultural change that has brought about the contemporary social disorganization that characterizes the lifestyle of Indians today.[11]

Definitions Proposed by Metis and Non-Status Indian People

In 1940, the Alberta legislature passed the *Metis Population Betterment Act*. It defines a Metis as "a person of mixed white and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as

defined in the Indian Act (Canada)."[12] This definition, as well as those that define Metis culture as a variant of Indian culture,[13] has been consistently rejected by the Metis. Instead, although they freely admit that their biological origins can be traced to both Indian and European ancestors, they say that biology and culture should not be confused. On this basis, from the standpoint of the Metis, their culture is unique.

One of the first people to point this out was Louis Riel, who, in 1885, proposed the following definition of Metis culture:

The Metis have as their paternal ancestors the former employees of the Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies; and as their maternal ancestors Indian women belonging to different tribes.
The French word "Metis" is derived from the Latin participle *"Mixtus,"* meaning mixed; it renders well the idea it is meant to convey.

Appropriate as the corresponding English expression *"halfbreed"* was for the first generation of mixture of blood, now that European and Indian blood is mingled in all degrees, it is no longer adequate.

The French word Metis expressed the idea of this mixture as satisfactorily as possible; and thus becomes a proper name for the people.

One small observation in passing not intended to offend anybody: sometimes a quite kind and polite person will say to a Metis: "You don't look like a Metis at all . . . Anyone would take you for a pure white." Disconcerted by the tone of the question, the Metis, who is proud of his origin on both sides, casts about for an answer . . . While he hesitates to choose among the different responses which come to mind, words like these finally overcome his silence . . . "True our Indian origin is humble, but it is right that we honour our mothers as well as our fathers. Why should we be concerned about the proportion of our European and Indian blood? However little we have of each, gratitude and filial love command us to say: "We are Metis."[14]

Similar sentiments have been expressed by contemporary Metis and non-status Indians. For example, in 1978, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association made this statement to the Task Force on Canadian Unity:

We are the Metis, the half-breeds, and we are the Indians who are not recognized as such by the Indian Act of Canada. Our people are not beneficiaries of the provisions of the Indian Act – we do not have reserves, nor do we have a massive government department with a budget in the hundreds of millions of dollars to look after our interests . . . We once shared Canada with you. Sometimes we wonder whether we might not have been a little too liberal with our immigration policies, because we now find ourselves on the outside, knocking on the door.[15]

In its presentation to the same task force the Native Council of Canada said that there was a close association between Metis identity and aboriginal rights:

The fundamental issue at stake for the Metis Nation, and [the reason for] our inclusion in the unity debate is the unwillingness, inability or incapability of the federal government to deal with the aboriginal rights issue. Unless this critical situation is resolved, we cannot objectively deal with two "founding" cultures while rejecting the first citizens of this country.[16]

In 1979, the Native Council of Canada emphasized the Native Canadian content of Metis culture in one of its publications.

The birth of the Metis nation is at the crossroads of the old and new worlds – where the European and Indian peoples came together. Our country is the home of people from all over the world. Their blood flows in our veins as does that of our Indian cousins. We have taken the best of both worlds to build the Metis nation. Our home is Canada.

We do not look to Europe or to any other part of the world for our identity. We are simply Native Canadians.[17]

In 1980, the Metis poet, author, and political leader Duke Redbird defined Metis and non-status Indian culture in this way:

The first half-breeds in the West were the eastern Metis who spearheaded the movement into the Red River country. This movement took place 100 years before the white man settled and 200 years before the first white woman arrived. The original Metis, having very little contact with whites, took Indian wives and by the 1800's were able to intermarry among themselves and establish their own culture, exclusive of Indian or white.

For many years the Metis remained a distinct ethnic group identified specifically with western Canada. Although many Metis have, and do, live in the Northwestern United States, Metis have not been recognized even as an ethnic reality in American consciousness. In Canada, however, half-breeds and many non-status Indians have moved toward the only recognized non-status group . . . the Metis. This has provided an identity solution for many Natives who had lived for years in a limbo world outside the special status reserved for registered Indians. This represents an expanded concept of the Metis people – with an historical continuity borrowed from the original Metis in the West, but based on the reality of Native consciousness in North America.

The term Metis then becomes as much a concept as a concrete fact . . . Basically, Metis can be considered to be people who identify themselves as such.[18]

As far as Metis culture in Ontario is concerned, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association has proposed the following definition:

The Metis are people of mixed Indian and European ancestry, our history and heritage goes back to the first periods of Indian-white contact in Canada.

Our forefathers are the French and the British who came to Canada to take part in the fur trade. They were dependent on the knowledge and skills of their Indian wives for survival in the harsh Canadian environment.

In later generations, Metis and Indians intermarried with immigrants from many parts of Europe who came to settle in Canada. Today, therefore, we have English, French, Irish, Scottish, and other European and Scandinavian people in the European part of our ancestry.[19]

With regard to non-status Indians, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association has said that they "are people who are Native by birth and heritage".[20] The association has also explained non-status Indian identity in this way:

In the late 1800s and early 1900s the federal government negotiated treaties with a number of Indian bands living in Ontario and other parts of Canada. Indians who are members of these bands are known as status Indians. Under the federal government's Indian Act they are entitled to several rights and privileges relating to land, hunting and fishing, education, housing, health, taxation and economic development.

There are several different ways in which we have lost or failed to gain legal status as Indians. Some of us are the descendants of Indian families who were away hunting or trapping during treaty negotiations and therefore missed being registered as members of specific bands.

Some of us gave up our Indian status in order to gain the full rights of a Canadian citizen. The right to own land or businesses off a reserve, for example, is denied to status Indians. Prior to 1960, status Indians did not have the right to vote in federal elections.

Some of us have lost our status through marriage . . .[21]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association said that one of the main features of Metis culture is its emphasis on freedom and independence.

Traditional Canadian history peripherally describes Metis people in terms of our role in relation to advancing settlement. We are called Bois Brule, voyageurs, Indian middlemen and – originally with disparaging overtones – Canadians. Perhaps our Cree brothers have the most accurate definition for Metis. They call us "Tipe Yim Isowak" – the people that own themselves, or that nobody owns. This phrase strikes to the heart of Metis culture. Connected to, but free from, the limitations of tribal life; connected to, but free from, the dominance of white settlement. The Metis were a new people in a changing world, free to unfold their lives to the limits of their own abilities.[22]

Summary

The Native people of Ontario have defined their culture in a variety of ways. Based on the statements presented in this chapter, Iroquoians' definitions focus on:

a) the unity of their culture;
b) the egalitarian nature of their society;
c) the respect they have for their traditional laws;
d) the loss of their traditional customs;
e) the value of their communal life; and
f) the uniqueness of their culture in contrast to other Native cultures.

Definitions proposed by Algonkian people and organizations focus on:

a) the value of their culture in relation to non-Native cultures;
b) their intimate relationship with the environment;
c) the belief that their culture is in no way inferior to any other culture;
d) the loss of their traditional customs;
e) the emphasis they place on living in harmony with nature; and
f) the social disorganization they have experienced on account of contact with non-Natives.

Metis and non-status Indian people and organizations have proposed definitions that focus on:

a) the uniqueness of their culture in relation to others;
b) the loss of Indian status and treaty and Aboriginal rights on account of the Indian Act;
c) their mixed biological ancestry;
d) the Native Canadian content of their identity; and
e) the feelings of freedom and liberty that their culture generates among its members.

—3. Proposals Made by Iroquoian People to Preserve Their Cultural Heritage—

This chapter contains proposals made by Iroquoian people to maintain the integrity of their culture.

Proposals to Preserve Iroquoian Social Organization

In 1784, the Mohawk Chief John Deseronto called attention to the importance of education as a means to preserve Iroquoian social organization.

[W]e wish that the . . . [government] would consider our case, and appoint . . . [a schoolmaster] as we have never had more occasion for one than at present for the teaching of our Children who have been much neglected in that respect since we left home. And likewise to be instructed in religious Matters . . .[1]

In 1971, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians published a policy paper that contained a number of recommendations concerning health, education, and band membership.

[1] Band Councils should independently hire a qualified consultant at the University Level to make a detailed and accurate survey on the Health and Welfare needs of the various Reserves . . .

[2] Financing for such a research survey should be made available through the Department of National Health and Welfare . . .

[3] When a Medical Doctor, Public Health Nurse, Dentist or Nurse retires or resigns from the Department of National Health and Welfare, it is recommended that any position must be filled immediately and services continue to be provided . . .

[4] Dental Services should be provided for all children attending schools on or off the Reserve by the Department of National Health and Welfare Dental Officers and Private Dentists . . .

[5] The Department of National Health and Welfare should also provide services to include artificial limbs, eye-glasses and Orthodontic care . . .

[6] Since the Federal Government is unable to provide properly qualified physicians to Indian Reserves, it is recommended that all Band Councils accept the services provided by OHSIP and OHSC through agreement between the Federal Government and Provincial Governments . . .

[7] However, it should be the complete responsibility of the Federal Government to provide all Medical services and to bear all costs . . .

[8] Individual Band Councils should negotiate with the Department of National Health and Welfare for the provision of drugs and medication and treatment at no cost to the individual whatever . . .

[9] All residents not paying OHSIP and OHSC through job payroll deductions should automatically be covered by the Department of National Health and Welfare . . .

[10] Health Education Classes should be offered to all residents of Reserves and all Indian people across Canada . . .

[11] Financing should be taken care of by the Department of National Health and Welfare . . .

[12] The teachers of Native students should be of the same quality as those teachers who serve the non-Indian community . . .

[13] Elementary School Students should attend school on the Reserve . . .

[14] Secondary School Students are far more capable of handling a 20 mile bus trip to school each day. It would be preferable if the school was located closer to home or even on the Reserve but if not, the student could learn to adjust to leaving his community to attend classes . . .

[15] Joint Agreements or Integrated School Programs appear to be feasible and workable ideas in education. However, the schools must be located on Reserves as well as in non-Indian communities . . . The process must work both ways in order to accomplish a "bi-cultural environment" . . .

[16] The curriculum in Canadian schools, elementary and secondary, Indian and non-Indian, must be changed to include the Nativeness of this country . . .

[17] The Canadian History Texts must undergo a complete revision. It should be clearly understood that the Indians of Canada are, in fact, the true Natives of this country . . .

[18] A Social Studies Course would be an excellent opportunity for students to learn of the Native Culture that is most pertinent to them . . .

[19] Reading and Literature Courses should include works written by and about Indians . . .

[20] The Guidance Program for the Native student should be different from the Guidance Program that is being implemented in non-Indian Secondary Schools . . . The Native student should be advised as to what course would benefit his people and himself most . . .

[21] A Liaison Officer should be at work between the Native Student and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. This Officer would be aware of what jobs are available to the graduating student, within the Department . . .

[22] Who is an Indian and entitled to be on the Band Membership list can cause some concern. However, a good starting point can be the present Band membership list. If both parents are members of the Band, there is no problem. Where the father is a non-member

poses some difficulty. It has given rise to "professional fathers" in some cases. Situations of this kind should be a matter for the Band Council to decide . . .

[23] When an Indian ceases to be a member of the Band by reason of enfranchisement, payment of shares out of the capital fund of the Band should be abolished. The right to be paid out of capital funds has been abused. Often times the children have been made to suffer by parents becoming enfranchised . . . Perhaps, this should be corrected and provision made for such children so enfranchised to be allowed to apply for re-instatement into the membership of the Band, subject to Band Council approval. Since the capital funds of the Band are the result of the sale of Indian lands, such funds must be kept intact for our posterity . . .

[24] All the sections in the Indian Act dealing with "Definition and Registration of Indians" must be revised. Guidelines must be set within the Indian Act but the application for membership . . . [and membership] itself must be the decision of the Band . . .[2]

In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood presented a policy paper on Indian education to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. It called for Indian control of Indian education.[3] Two years later Ms. Marlene Brant Castellano affirmed her belief in the value of such control.

If I were setting priorities for changes which Indian pressure groups should promote, the foremost would be to challenge at every opportunity the middle-class bias of the schools in which Indian children are confined during most of their impressionable years.

Even if changes are introduced into the schools, for those students reaching school-leaving age in the next five to eight years, the damage has already been done. They will perceive the choice of vocation as being inextricably tied up with their identity and this perception will be reinforced by the necessity, in most cases, of leaving home to pursue higher education.

The pressure to make a choice regarding vocation comes on the Indian youth just when he is becoming aware that he is more than the child of his parents; he is inescapably, a member of society, but which society, Indian or white? It is futile to tell an adolescent that life's options are not so clear-cut and unequivocal as he believes them to be. He is poised between childhood and adulthood, often vacillating between the two, and additional ambiguity is intolerable. So he feels compelled to plunge into decisions which become irreversible.[4]

In 1977, Mr. Wilcy Kewayosh, acting President of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, told the annual meeting of the Chiefs of Ontario that the main concerns of his organization were the administration of justice, child welfare, education, band membership, and unity among Indian people.

We must have an Indian operated justice system, we must have Indian operated children's aid societies . . . We must make . . . things happen in order to provide an incentive to our own students to remain in places of learning and to take our places . . . We are in the midst of changes to the Indian Act, in particular Band membership; this should be the complete responsibility of the band to decide who is a status Indian and who is not. This change to the Indian Act must be done with complete cooperation from us all, and we must not bicker about who represents who, and the cost of that representation.[5]

In 1982, Mr. Lance Sams argued that Native control of social services and child welfare were necessary to meet the needs of Native communities.

Native interest and involvement in exercising more control over social service mechanisms in general and child welfare planning in particular is a relatively new phenomenon. Nationally, it is well recognized that federal and provincial child welfare services are disorganized and uncoordinated and while there are pockets of progress, they are more the exception than the rule and the overall picture is indeed bleak. The idea of anything more than token representation of Natives on the policy and planning levels has been slow in coming and in most places is outright discouraged . . .

There are many obvious and not so obvious obstacles to overcome at all levels of interaction. Child welfare planning bodies such as the provincial Ministry of Community and Social Services and groups like the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies will have to take a leadership role as opposed to a reactive one. This really translates into a sincere and committed "opening of the doors" of decision-making, planning and service delivery. Not according to pre-conceived, pre-packaged or pre-delivered programs or timetables, but relevant in time and in scope to specific Native-determined community needs. Ontario's "Native Initiatives" – which in some ways merely meant more money – will not be successful if ultimate decision making authority still sits in Toronto.[6]

In 1983, Mr. Gordon Peters, President of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, made the following proposals about Indian status and band membership to Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government:

[1] The Association takes the position that Constitutional recognition of "the Aboriginal peoples of Canada", defined as including "Indians", puts the determination of Indian status beyond the reach of Parliament. The legal parameters of Aboriginal status can now be determined by further constitutional definition or by the Courts . . .

[2] This means that any person who is Constitutionally an Aboriginal cannot be denied existing Aboriginal and treaty rights afforded other members of his Aboriginal group . . .

[3] This does not mean that Parliament can no longer single out particular groups of Aboriginal peoples for special legislative treatment so long as it does not abrogate Constitutional rights . . .

[4] Nor does it mean that a person who qualifies Constitutionally as an Aboriginal is automatically entitled to share in the lands or resources of a particular Band *unless* the Band holds those resources as part of its

Aboriginal or treaty rights *and* the person's Aboriginal affinity is to that Band . . .

[5] The Association recommends a two-tier system status and membership [in which]

[A] Federal legislation would recognize all persons Constitutionally "Indian" as Indians for the purpose of Indian programs. It is acknowledged that not all programs will necessarily be available to all Indians . . .

[B] Indian governments will determine Band membership for the purpose of voting, sharing in Indian assets such as reserve lands, capital distributions, etc. . . .

[6] In operation the system would work as follows:

[A] Any person who is Constitutionally an Indian will have Indian status pursuant to federal legislation. A person may have Indian status without being a member of a Band . . .

[B] A decision must be made whether a person could be a Band member without having Indian status. Bands could, perhaps, decide for themselves . . .

[7] Indian governments will determine who is entitled to Band membership subject to:

[A] automatic Constitutional entitlements;

[B] non-discrimination on the basis of sex; and

[C] reasonable protective provisions for persons who are already members of the Band . . .

[8] Depending on the interaction of various Band criteria, a person could be a member of more than one Band.

[9] As the new Constitution becomes interpreted in the Courts, or as Government disavows the automatic enfranchisement policy it has pursued in the past, many "non-status Indians" may become entitled to Band membership. Where this does not result from direct action by the Indian government itself, there should be an indemnity payable to the Band by the federal government equivalent to a per capita share of the Band's equity in Band assets, including land, *or* $2,000.00, whichever is greater . . .

[10] Finally, our Bands feel that there is an urgent need for the following change to the *Indian Act:*

[A] Section 12(1)(a)(iv), the double-mother rule, should be abolished retroactively. The Association feels that this provision is both arbitrary and capriciously unfair.[7]

Proposals to Preserve Iroquoian Economic Organization

In 1710, Theyanoguin, a Mohawk warrior, sachem, and orator, said that hunting, and trade with Europeans, were necessary to preserve the economic strength of the Iroquois.

Great Queen . . . we should have *free hunting*, and a great Trade with our *Great Queen's* Children . . .[8]

In 1969, in response to the federal government's White Paper on Indian Policy, the Union of Ontario Indians, on behalf of all of the Indian people in the province, identified provincial and municipal taxation and financial loans as two of its main concerns.

A number of reserves in Ontario have leased lands to outside organizations and persons. These lands are taxed by the province or county but none of it goes back to the band. It is suggested that taxes obtained in these circumstances be returned to the band. Indians also pay taxes other than property tax. Because of this, provincial services should be extended to Indian reserves.

Ways should be found to make it easier for Indians and Indian bands to get loans. If this requires clauses in the new Indian Act then they should be included.[9]

In 1971, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians made the following recommendations:

There are, at least, three avenues through which [economic] development may be encouraged:

1. In conjunction with present economic opportunities within commuting distance from the Reserve.
2. The establishment of secondary industries on the Reserve itself.
3. The development of primary industry and use of the natural resources within the Indian Reserve . . .

Since the Government seems reluctant or unwilling to use its personnel and present administrative set-up to start these programs, it is incumbent on the Indians to take the initiative and set up the machinery to do it themselves. To work co-operatively in an undertaking of this kind will be something new and will be a novel experiment for the Band Councils.[10]

In 1977, Mr. Wilcy Kewayosh described the economic position of the members of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians in the following way:

The majority of our people continue to live in deep poverty, without meaningful jobs or means of producing a livelihood and until we have an Indian deputy minister of Indian Affairs, we probably will continue to suffer these extreme physical agonies . . . We must awaken to the fact that white industrialists and government policy-makers can continue to regard us in the same category as children and old people, as not in the labour force, but are valuable as consumers only. We must continue to put all our effort forward to get out of that rut.[11]

In 1983, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians told the members of Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government that bands should control their own finances and economic resources:

[1] Indian Governments should not be accountable to Government for their management of Indian assets . . .

[2] Standard business practices and procedures should be practiced by Indian Governments to ensure accountability . . .

[3] Future role of D.I.N.A. should be limited to funding transfers . . . [and] unique advisory services not otherwise available . . .

[4] The [land and resources] title question should be cast in terms of Trust or a new form of "Indian Reserve Title" should be created. Parliament has the authority to do

sc, in consultation with Bands . . .

[5] Indian Governments should control land tenure in Indian reserves and the broad discretionary powers of the Minister should be abolished . . .

[6] Surrendered lands should be returned to reserve status subject to existing interests . . .

[7] Non-Indian interests [in Indian lands] could be created, possibly subject to special voting procedures within the Indian Governments . . .

[8] The surrender provisions of the [Indian] *Act* should be repealed . . .

[9] Entitlement to share in Indian assets and resources should be determined by Indian Governments. This could be done within the present [Indian] Act.

[10] Past management [of Indian estates] has created a large backlog and left many problems in its wake. These must be resolved before Indian Governments assume any responsibility . . .

[11] A.I.A.I. favours entrenchment of a provision ensuring transfer funds to enable Indian Governments to provide comparable levels of public services as other Governments . . .

[12] The model for such a provision is section 36 (2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.[12]

Proposals to Preserve Iroquoian Arts and Media

In 1976, the Task Force on Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario, which included a representative from the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians, said that the promotion of Native arts in public institutions would help counter negative stereotypes of Indian people.

Until more people are knowledgeable about Native culture [and] art . . . respect [for Native people] will not be forthcoming. Unfortunately, little has been done . . . The majority of Canadians have a stereo-type image of Native peoples as portrayed through movies and discriminatory history texts. [This is because m]useums and art galleries have not fulfilled their potential as public relations agents for the Native peoples.[13]

To combat these problems the Task Force made the following recommendations:

1. a) Mass-media be utilized to improve the non-Native's concept of Native people;
   b) more Native people be hired by newspapers, radio, and television.
2. a) Museums improve and update their displays on the Native people through the appointment of Native resource people;
   b) museums provide Native resource people to conduct lectures and lead seminars on the Native people in Ontario.
3. Art galleries provide incentives to Native people to display their art and stage special collections of native artwork.

[4] Native people be encouraged to become actively involved in theater, music, literature, film, and other fine arts, through the provision of funds and increased opportunities for demonstration, recognition, and performance.

[5] [I]ncentives be given to the makers of Native crafts, so that the present quality of goods can be maintained . . .

[6] [N]ewspapers be developed on each of the reserves, and a mass newspaper be developed for the London District, so that Native people of the area can have closer communication.[14]

In 1979, Mohawk artist Garry Miller argued against museum collections that contained only Native works of art.

I think that a museum strictly for Native content would be the worst thing that could ever happen. We are already physically corralled on reserves – must we be culturally and aesthetically confined as well? Besides it may provide an excuse for other establishments not to purchase our work.[15]

In 1980, Mr. Robert Brant, a Mohawk from the Tyendinaga Reserve and owner of North American Indian Film Company Limited, said that the distribution of Indian films was a critical concern to Indian film producers.

Throughout my travels in the United States and Canada I found there were many good Indian producers, but no one to handle the distribution of films. This is a critical point, because there is a big demand for Indian films from educational institutions, museums and libraries in both North America as well as Europe . . . I would also like to see more funding and incentives for the Indian producer from such organizations as the Department of Indian Affairs, Secretary of State and the Ministry of Culture and Recreation.[16]

In 1982, the nature, goals, and problems of the international Native Art Center overlooking the falls at Niagara were explained in the following way:

The Iroquois people call North America the "Great Turtle Island" and continue to honor the earth symbol in a uniquely designed Native Art Center. Overlooking the brink of the Falls at Niagara, a mighty turtle stands as a tribute to the continuing culture of the Iroquois people . . . The goals of the Center have remained clear . . .

[1] To determine how the arts can best be utilized as a primary catalytic force to convert the inherent values of our cultural heritage into a viable ethic of a contemporary world.

[2] To establish a museum that will enable the Native artist to make intelligent connections with their unique cultural pasts as we move towards greater contributory roles in the international art scene.

[3] To serve as a new kind of educational clearing house, creating opportunities for increasing inter-cultural dialogue and understanding through the universal language of the arts.

[4] To apply modern technologies and methodologies to enhance the state of the arts and the role of traditional heritage in the social and economic development of Native communities . . .

The future of the Tu de is dependent on many factors . . . Severe economic times and federal funding cutbacks are

not making things easier. But the Turtle hopes to continue to address the need for a strong voice for Indian art and culture. With community support, skillful management and dedication the propects look good . . .[17]

Proposals to Preserve Iroquoian Political Organization

The traditional Iroquois possessed a hereditary system of government. In 1983, Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government described the structure and history of this government in the following way:

The Iroquois (as they were known by the French) or Six Nations (as the English called them) or the Haudenosaunee *(People of the Longhouse,* as they called themselves) have a formalized constitution, which is recited every five years by elders who have committed it to memory. It provides for a democratic system in which each extended family selects a senior female leader and a senior male leader to speak on its behalf in their respective councils. Debates on matters of common concern are held according to strict rules that allow consensus to be reached in an efficient manner, thus ensuring that the community remains unified. A code of laws, generally expressed in positive admonitions rather than negative prohibitions, governs both official and civil behaviour. Laws are passed by a bicameral legislature, made up of senior and junior houses. A council of elders oversees the general course of affairs. Since officials are chosen from each extended family, the system is called 'hereditary'. While the commonly held belief is that hereditary chiefs hold dictatorial powers, these leaders are actually subject to close control by their people and can be removed from office by them.

The Canadian government suppressed the Haudenosaunee government by jailing its leaders and refusing to give it official recognition. In 1924, the council hall at the Six Nations Reserve was raided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). All official records and symbols of government were seized and have never been returned. The system of 'band councils' mandated in the *Indian Act* was installed in its place.[18]

Iroquoian spokespeople have long pressed for the reinstatement of their traditional government, as well as for other changes to preserve the integrity of their political organization. For instance, in 1925, Levi General, Chief of the Little Bear clan of the Cayuga nation, who was also known as Deskaheh, made the following statement about the RCMP's 1924 raid on council hall at the Six Nations Reserve:

My home is on the Grand River. Until we sold off a large part, our country extended down to Lake Erie, where, 140 winters ago, we had a little sea-shore of our own and a birch-bark navy. You would call it Canada. We do not. We call the little ten-miles square we have left the 'Grand River Country'. We have the right to do that. It is ours. We have the written pledge of George III . . . About three winters ago the Canadian government set out to take mortgages on farms of our returned soldiers to secure loans made to them intending to use Canadian courts to enforce those mortgages in the name of Canadian authority within our country . . . We knew that would mean the end of our own government . . .

To punish us for trying to preserve our rights, the Canadian government has now pretended to abolish our government by Royal Proclamation and has pretended to set up a Canadian-made government over us, composed of the few traitors among us who are willing to accept pay from Ottawa and do its bidding . . . I am the speaker of the Council of the Six Nations, the oldest League of Nations now existing. It was founded by Hiawatha. It is a league which is still alive and intends, as best it can, to defend the rights of the Iroquois to live under their own laws in their own little countries now left to them; to worship their Great Spirit in their own way and to enjoy the rights which are as surely theirs as the white man's rights are his own . . .[19]

In 1947, the following exchange occurred between Mr. William Smith, Traditional Chief of the Council of the Six Nations, and Mr. Charlton, a member of a joint House of Commons/Senate committee examining proposed revisions to the Indian Act:

Mr. Charlton: If you went back to the old way of doing it and you are opposed to the Indian Act, then what association would the Six Nations have with the government here at Ottawa . . .

Mr. Smith: It never has had any legal association. There never has been any legal association between the Six Nations and the Government of Canada. The whole thing is based on assumption.

Mr. Charlton: Well, then, in what way would you carry on the affairs of the reserve if you were not associated with the government here?

Mr. Smith: We have our own government which ought to be quite capable of carrying on its own affairs.[20]

In 1963, the International Committee of Mohawk Arts and Traditions concluded that, in order to maintain their political independence, it was best for Indian people to not vote in federal and provincial elections.

When the Indians vote, they can no longer be a Sovereign Nation, as they automatically become Canadian citizens and British subjects . . . [T]he Redman is morally obliged not to vote in federal and provincial elections.[21]

In 1969, the Union of Ontario Indians, speaking on behalf of the Iroquois and other Indian people in Ontario, said that revisions to the Indian Act could not be considered until treaty rights were guaranteed.

In view of the intimate relationship between the Indian Act and whatever treaties which may have, in the past, been made or negotiated between the Indian people of Canada and the British and Canadian governments and in view of the fact that any revisions to or changes in the

current Indian Act which may be suggested, however meaningful they may appear to be, would be ineffective and cannot guarantee the protection or preservation of Indian treaties and rights conferred by treaties without reference to these Indian treaties . . . [We] will not agree to any revisions to the Indian Act until the Canadian government acknowledges the existence of and inviolability of Indian treaties and treaty rights. It is therefore recommended that before any final decision is made or legislation is passed by the Canadian Parliament respecting revisions to the Indian Act, that consultations be held in which treaties and treaties only be discussed.[22]

In 1977, Mr. Wilcy Kewayosh told the Chiefs of Ontario that they could best achieve political progress through unity and by pressing the government to satisfy the demands of Indian organizations such as the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians.

It is difficult for both myself and the staff to fulfill our responsibilities as it is very hard work and requires a lot of travelling in order to represent the different bands properly.

To that end each and everyone of your chiefs should stand behind your presidents because it's our job to try and fight for programs, funding and programs. If you stand behind your presidents we will progress better in our endeavours . . .

Our Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians in cooperation with the other three major organizations; namely, Treaty No. 9, Treaty No. 3, [and the] Union of Ontario Indians, who are the legally recognized Indian leaders according to the laws incorporated by the white society . . . should not hesitate to let government lawmakers know the changes we want . . . We have many people who are completely capable and qualified to carry out the . . . responsibilities [of a deputy minister of the Department of Indian Affairs] and one of them must be appointed to that position, if Indian people are to manage their own affairs. That shall not of course, provide the complete answer because there are changes to be made in several federal laws, but these must be carried out as the next step . . . The four organizations at this time, are cooperating successfully. However, we do have problems with government agencies, in particular, the federal Department of the Secretary of State is using their [financial] assistance as a means to control our political activities. If we can continue to recognize this and place it before the public, be positive that the policy shall change to our benefit.[23]

In 1979, an anonymous spokesperson made the following statement about the Iroquoians' traditional government:

The Confederacy Chiefs objected . . . [in 1924] and continue to object today to . . . interference with their sovereignty and their right to their own government. The Chiefs sent delegations to the League of Nations in 1924 and 1928, to Britain in 1930, and to other places since then. They have been in court three times in Canada in an attempt to have Canada's actions set aside. The last time was in October, 1976, when the case of *Isaac vs. Davey* was heard by the Supreme Court of Canada.[24]

In 1980, Mr. Charles P. Cornelius complained about interference by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the political affairs of the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians.

In 1976, the Ontario regional liaison council (ORLC) was established by . . . [the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development] . . . It is this associations submission that in the years following the ORLC's creation, it has evolved its function into that of decision and policy-maker rather than advisor. It is becoming increasingly clear that the present functions of the ORLC are an exact duplication of those function of the four provincial [Indian] organizations. The establishment and present activities of the ORLC are clearly against the wishes of the vast majority of the Chiefs in Southern Ontario. In my opinion, it's . . . [certain that the] government will state that the concerns of the Indian people in Ontario are being adequately represented by the ORLC and, therefore, there is no further need for the other four organizations. If this came about, there would be a question of how forcefully or adequately the views and concerns of Indian people would be voiced by members of the ORLC who are contractually bound to the department of Indian Affairs.[25]

In 1983, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians made the following statement about the constitutional framework and legal status of Indian self-government:

[1] Self-determination for Aboriginal peoples is now an agenda item for future Constitutional Conferences . . .
[2] Parliament has not legislated to full extent of its jurisdiction over "Indians", nor to the full extent of "Lands reserved for the Indians" . . .
[3] A.I.A.I. is primarily concerned that Indian Self-Government have early recognition, whether constitutionally or legislatively, in consultation with Bands . . .
[4] A.I.A.I. Bands do deal with the Province and have no theoretical or other objections to doing so . . .
[5] Bands need to be constituted as legal entities similar to corporations but having all the rights, privileges and immunities of a person with Indian status . . .
[6] Band Councils, or Indian Governments, should exercise the powers of the Band.[26]

Proposals to Preserve Iroquoian Spiritual Values and Beliefs

According to the religious philosophy of the Iroquois:

The principles of Righteousness demand that all thoughts of prejudice, privilege or superiority be swept away and that recognition be given to the reality that the creation is intended for the benefit of all equally – even the birds and animals, the trees and the insects, as well as human beings. The world does not belong to humans – it is the rightful property of the Great Creator. The gifts and benefits of the world, therefore, belong to all equally. The things

which humans need to survive – food, clothing, shelter, protection – these are things to which all are entitled because they are gifts of the Great Creator. Nothing belongs to human beings, not even their labor or their skills, for ambition and abilities are also the gifts of the Great Creator. Therefore all people have a right to the things they need to survive – even those who do not or cannot work, and no person or people has a right to deprive others of the fruits of those gifts.[27]

In the late eighteenth century, in order to clarify the values and beliefs that flow from the religion of the Iroquois, one chief explained to his British allies how his culture perceived the nature of war and peace.

We are happy in having buried under the ground the red ax that has so often been dyed with the blood of our brethern. Now in this spot we inter the ax and plant the tree of peace. We plant the tree whose top will reach high up into the sunlight, and its branches will soon spread abroad, that it shall be seen afar off. May its growth never be . . . choked, but may it continue to flourish until it shades both your country and ours with its leaves. Let us make fast its roots and extend them to the utmost of your settlements. If enemies should come to shake this tree we would know it by the motion of its roots reaching into your country. May the Great Spirit allow us to rest in tranquility upon our mats beneath its shade, and never again may the ax be dug up to cut down this tree of peace. Let the earth be trod hard over this ax which we have buried on its edge, so that if ever it moves it may only sink down the deeper. Let a strong stream like that which rushes by wash the evil thoughts and deeds of war out of our sight and remembrance. The war-fire that has so long burned is now extinguished. The bloody bed on which our wounded tossed, breathing vengance, is now washed clean as are their hearts, and the tears are wiped from their eyes. Brothers, we now renew the covenant chain of friendship. Let it be kept bright and clean as silver, and never again may its beauty be tarnished by contact with any rust. As now it units us in the bonds of friendship, may not any one pull away his arms from it.[28]

In 1971, the Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians called for the creation of a cultural and educational centre to preserve Indian spiritual values and beliefs.

A Cultural and Educational Centre is needed in every Province of Canada. An educational centre would serve those Indian students in particular who attend school at the Secondary level, for they would benefit from an environment where their cultural background and educational interests would receive more recognition than is possible in the present integrated educational programs available to them . . . The nature of this program is entirely open to discussion. The alternatives which immediately come to mind are:

1. that it could be a residential educational experience in the nature of the private residential schools operating in the province;
2. that it could be a residential base from which Native students follow the conventional school curriculum in integrated schools;
3. that the centre could offer a curriculum of cultural studies including Native history, religion and language, which would be pursued independently or in conjunction with a secondary level curriculum congruent with the Department of Education requirements.

With the emphasis on the need for continuing education in all segments of modern society, it is conceivable that the centre could provide a resource for continuing education for Native people at any stage of their life and family cycle . . .

It is essential that at all stages of development and management, the Centre should maintain a high level of communication with Native people in the province. In view of the expanding role of the Native Associations, it would seem to be preferable that there be a continuing link with one or several of the Native organizations to which Native people are currently delegating responsibility for leadership.

While the credibility of the program would initially derive from the sponsorship of Native organizations it would seem preferable that the actual governing of the project should be in the hands of Native personnel whose primary competence lies in the areas of education and organization skills . . .

It is quite possible that if a workable plan could be prepared funds from private foundations as well as the Government could be obtained to launch the project. Possible revenues from tuition fees paid by families in a position to contribute and bursaries supported by charitable organizations should also be considered.[29]

In 1977, Mr. Wilcy Kewayosh said that the Canadian Council of Churches likely would help preserve the spiritual values and beliefs of Indian people.

There are many groups that will assist us and in all likelihood the strongest is the Canadian Council of Churches. If we ask the support of those people and the continued guidance of the Great Creator above, God, the maker of heaven, earth and the creator of man and keep him in our endeavours and planning, I think that is the main thing that will never go wrong.[30]

In 1980, the Cultural Education Centres of Ontario made the following recommendations concerning funding and programs for cultural educational centres:

[1] A system of classification should be implemented to separate programs presently funded into three categories – Cultural Educational Centres, Cultural Education Programs, Cultural Educational Projects . . .

[2] The three categories would have separate allocations of funds that are earmarked for each and would not be utilized in other categories. Criteria for funding allocation in each category have been established . . .

[3] The mandate and program objectives of the cultural Education Centres Program must be expanded to include current and developing community needs – training in management, audio-visual, curriculum

development, and service training to enable community services installed by Centres – i.e.: radio stations . . .

[4] Set up an information system and clearing house to help CEC's share information . . .

[5] Capital purchases, renovations or new building construction are an integral part of the requirements in the CEC Program in the move toward self-sufficiency . . .

[6] A research fund is needed for the conduct of feasibility studies on new programs to meet the new emerging community needs. This fund would also be used to promote increased community awareness on cultural and educational matters . . .

[7] A meeting and workshop fund would allow for community meetings, cultural exchanges and workshops . . .

[8] Funding would be provided for an Elders program to fund four (4) meetings a year in which Elders can provide guide to the CEC and help ensure that it maintains its links with the communities . . .

[9] Centres require an allocation of funds for service and program development and production.[31]

Summary

The proposals contained in this chapter that have been made to preserve the integrity of Iroquoian social organization, economic organization, arts and media, political organization, and spiritual values and beliefs include the following:

Social Organization

a) Allow Indian people to control their own education.
b) Provide band members with free medical and dental care.
c) Allow bands to control their own membership and establish the legal definition of an Indian person.
d) Allow Indian people to control the administration of justice for Native offenders.
e) Allow Indian people to control child welfare and other social services.

Economic Organization

a) Provide Indian people with guaranteed access to land and natural resources.
b) Provide Indian people with more government loans.
c) Provide bands with tax rebates on surrendered land.
d) Establish secondary industry on reserves and provide Indian people with more opportunities to participate fully in primary and secondary industries.
e) Eliminate interference and encourage more economic support from the Department of Indian Affairs.
f) Allow bands to control band assets, reserve lands, and resources on reserves.

Arts and Media

a) Promote Native arts more extensively.
b) Provide more employment opportunities for Native people in the media.
c) Set up more displays of Native arts and crafts in galleries and museums.
d) Increase government funding for Native artists, craftspeople, and film producers.

Political Organization

a) Reinstate the traditional government of the Iroquois.
b) Allow Indian people to participate fully in discussions leading to a better definition of treaty rights.
c) End the control over Indian affairs by the Department of Indian Affairs.
d) Establish self-determination for Indian people and establish Indian self-government.

Spiritual Values and Beliefs

a) Allow Indian people to establish their own cultural educational centres.
b) Broaden the base of the programs that are offered by cultural educational centres.
c) Increase government funding for cultural educational centres and programs.

4. Proposals Made by Algonkian People to Preserve Their Cultural Heritage

This chapter contains proposals made by Algonkian people to maintain the integrity of their culture.

Proposals to Preserve Algonkian Social Organization

In 1846, a group of Algonkian chiefs concluded that education was critical to their cultural survival.

> We understand one of the chief objects . . . [Europeans] have in view at present, is to improve our young people by means of Boarding Schools, at which they will learn to work with their hands; in fact, to make our boys useful and industrious farmers and mechanics, and our girls good housekeepers. This seems to us very necessary . . .[1]

More than one hundred years later, in 1950, Mr. Henry Jackson, Secretary of the Union of Ontario Indian Association, wrote that Indian education needed to be improved.

> The system of Indian education is not anything to be proud of, or is the Indian child. Is he so stupid that he cannot learn? Each province should be subsidized and should handle the Indian education on a definite provincial school system. Since 1700 the white man professed to have a definite aim to educate the Indians, the result being dismal failure. Or does the average Indian child lack the intelligence to cope with the modern school curriculum? Many officials take this attitude, and use it as a plausible excuse for the poor results.
>
> But I am informed by an authority on Indian education. He is a friend of Indian youth. In one of the western Indian boarding schools in 1948, under his supervision, he tested forty pupils in Grades 8, 9 and 10 . . . The highest pupil average was 110.8 and the lowest 86, the whole class averaging an intelligence quotient of 96. These pupils had been attending classrooms only half days. This will show you the results of a teacher who is really true to his duties as a teacher of Indian children.[2]

Mr. Jackson also commented on the government's responsibility towards illegitimate children and non-status Indians.

> A resolution was passed by the Regional Southwest Union of Ontario Indian Association at its session in Sarnia on February 17, 1949, that the government provide sufficient funds on behalf of every illegitimate child added to band membership equal to the per capita holdings in that particular band. After all, as in the case of the Pottawatomi that migrated into this country, our allies fought and bled for the cause of British justice, consequently losing their ancestral home and country by joining forces with the British. It is only fair and just that these Indians should receive indemnity from the country they were so loyal [to] in time of danger. The original inhabitants should not be imposed on and expected to impart their holdings to other Indians to whom the government is entirely responsible. It is also argued from all parts of Canada that authority of enrollment of non-treaties should be removed entirely from the powers of the Department of Indian Affairs and placed under that of the band themselves.[3]

In 1976, the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario, which included representatives from the Union of Ontario Indians, Grand Council Treaty No. 9, and Grand Council Treaty No. 3, made the following recommendations concerning day-care, health services, drug and alcohol abuse programs, and correctional services:

[1] Funding be provided for the building and administration of day-care centres in northern communities and on reserves.

[2] Training programmes in early childhood education be made accessible to Native communities.

[3] Native people be given preference for any jobs in day-care centres serving Native children.

[4] Day-care centres serving Native children be Native oriented, e.g. staff to speak the Native tongue of the area . . .

[5] a) Special training programmes in the health services be established for Native people, e.g. nursing, medicine, etc.;
b) graduates be given preference for any jobs available in Native communities . . .

[6] Native people be attached to treatment centres for training as teacher-therapists (e.g. Sarnia-Lambton Centre for Children and Youth) . . .

[7] Courses in first-aid, family planning, pre-natal and post-natal care, personal hygiene, and proper nutrition be conducted on reserves and in Metis and non-status Indian communities . . .

[8] a) Compulsory complete physical check-up be conducted on all Native students at the beginning of the school year;
b) medical facilities be made available for any further physical or mental assessment of students deemed necessary . . .

[9] Any reports on students from public health nurses or school nurses be forwarded to parents and band school committees . . .

[10] Native health and hygiene workers are to be available in schools to advise on personal hygiene and proper nutrition . . .

[11] A team of Native people, trained in various fields, (i.e. psychology, speech therapy, child-care, early childhood education, social work, psychiatry, and medicine)

travel to various schools serving Native students to provide assessment and follow-up . . .

[12] The public health service be expanded to serve Native communities . . .

[13] a) That an assessment and treatment centre for Native children be established on a reserve;
b) that Native people staff the proposed centre;
c) that the proposed centre provide assessment day-care and residential treatment for Native children requiring their services . . .

[14] Retraining and upgrading programmes be available to Native people enrolled in alcohol rehabilitation programmes, so that they are able to gain an education and earn a decent living . . .

[15] Native people be trained in drug and alcohol abuse treatment programmes . . .

[16] a) Native people be hired to prepare brochures for use in school on the social and economic problems related to drug and alcohol abuse;
b) these brochures be translated into Cree and Ojibway for dispersal to reserves and Metis and non-status Indian communities . . .

[17] Treatment programmes for the Native alcoholic be sensitive to his lifestyle and culture, and be directed and staffed by specially-trained Native counsellors . . .

[18] Adequate resources and facilities be provided Native people to enable them to initiate the rehabilitation process necessary for more than band-aid treatment of Native alcoholics . . .

[19] Any de-tox centres serving Native people be associated with the local Indian Friendship Centre . . .

[20] Steps be taken to change the stereo-type image of the "drunken Indian" and re-establish a sense of self-esteem and pride of heritage and culture in the Native alcoholic . . .

[21] Quality, recognized programmes be established to train Native courtworkers, probation officers, para-legal workers, child-care workers, lawyers, and after-care workers, and that the graduates of these programmes be given preference for any positions in Native communities . . .

[22] Native children from reserves not be sent to training schools, but be placed in Native-staffed group homes on the reserve, so that their education is not interrupted . . .

[23] Inmates be encouraged to continue their education through the provision of diploma and degree-granting upgrading and retraining programmes during incarceration and throughout their parole . . .[4]

Three years later, in 1979, after the federal government proposed removing sexual discrimination from the Indian Act, an anonymous spokesperson made the following statement about membership in Ojibway society:

By now it has become obvious that many Indian people do not want . . . changes [to remove all discrimination against women from the Indian Act]. The reasons that are given do not often make sense to the general population of the country. The Act treats women differently from men, and deprives them of their status in situations where men are treated as actually giving status to their non-Indian wives. Why the opposition?

In the case of the Ojibway people, there are actually strong, fundamental reasons for opposing this change. These reasons lie in the basic makeup of Ojibway society, and the rules that have permitted that society to survive up to this day.

When the Ojibway people lived mainly by hunting and fishing, it was the man's job to get the food. He did this by being closely connected to the land, to his hunting territory, and by knowing the land, the animals, and the people that he hunted and fished with. On the other hand, the woman's job and duties were in the camp; preparing the food, making the clothes, raising the children. While it was necessary for the husband to be familiar with his hunting grounds, there was no similar need for the wife.

As well, the people lived in small bands. It was important to avoid extensive intermarriage within these bands, to prevent inbreeding. The clan system was one mechanism that developed in part to prevent this marriage within family groups. Since the men were tied to the land, it became the practice of the Ojibway people to look for wives from other communities. This also was a way of bringing new ideas and new technologies from one community to another, and of forming alliances and connections between the bands. It was expected that the wife would follow her husband to his band and his land. This was the way of the Ojibway people.

The missionaries who followed a religion that gave power and position to men, encouraged this practice. So, too, did the Governments which were similarly male-oriented and male-dominated. The Indian Act reinforced the idea that this was the right way to do things.

But the basic reasons for the opposition to change are not the ones advanced on the basis of religion, or laws, or government. The basic reasons lie in the structure of Ojibway society. This way of doing things was central to the people's lives, and the Government of Canada, in trying to force these changes, is trying to do much more than promote equality between the sexes: It is, whether deliberately or not, trying to change the values and structure of Ojibway society.[5]

Testifying before Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government in 1983, the Ontario Native Women's Association made the following statement about sexual discrimination, family law, and membership in Native society:

For status women and men living off the reserve, for non-status Indian men and women residing in Ontario, and significantly, for those Aboriginal women who have lost their status through discrimination of the Indian Act, we find that their issues, especially are not being articulated well enough to ensure that their rights are guaranteed . . .

Our principle is clear; no one individual of Aboriginal ancestry will be divested of his or her Aboriginal or treaty rights, no matter where he or she chooses to live; nor to lose the benefits of those rights.

Our problem is one of jurisprudence. There appears to

us to be too much uncertainty and subjective legal interpretation relating to our rights, to make a passive reference to equality, that we, as Aboriginal women, must insist that the Canada Constitution Act 1982, be very clear with respect to the equality of rights and the application of those rights.

With respect to this, we are requesting . . . that a specific provision of the equality clause be inserted to give constitutional protection on behalf of the Aboriginal people; and it be inserted under Part II-Section 35, to become Sub-section (3).

Such a provision might read: "Notwithstanding anything in this part, the rights of Aboriginal peoples are guaranteed and applied equally to male and female persons."

A second matter which must be articulated and proposed in the Canada Constitution Act is a provision which provides for the constitutional protection of customs and traditions of Aboriginal peoples, particularly in the area of family law, and must form part of the Aboriginal rights, enforceable before the courts, and subject to the equality principle, and thirdly, the right to define membership must be recognized as an Aboriginal right, subject to the equality principle.[6]

Proposals to Preserve Algonkian Economic Organization

One of the most persistent themes in Algonkian thought is the intimate relationship between the people and the land. To be sure, some Algonkians have called for the complete abandonment of traditional economic pursuits. For instance, in 1846, a group of Algonkian chiefs said that Indians should abandon hunting and trapping in favour of agriculture.

Let us then sound the shell, and summon every red man from the woods; let us give up the chase of the deer and the beaver; it is unprofitable: the white man's labour is fast eating away the forest, whilst the sound of his axe and his bells is driving the game far away from their old haunts; it will soon all be gone. Let us then leave the bush to the wolves and the bears, and come forth and build our wigwams in the open fields: let us exchange the gun and the spear for the axe and the plow, and learn to get our living out of the ground, like our white brethren.[7]

Yet, on balance, this is a minority view. Over the years the majority of Algonkian people has stated that the land and its resources are vital not only to the well-being of their economy, but also to the integrity of their culture. This is not to say that Algonkian people wish to live exclusively off the land. Economic development has and continues to be one of their main concerns. Still, the economic measures they have proposed to preserve their cultural heritage are based, first and foremost, on the land and its resources. For example, in 1917, a petition sent to the British monarch by 128 men from the five Lake Superior Reserves called attention to the economic value Algonkian people placed on the land and its resources.

May it please your Majesty, we, the Indians of the Ojibewa Tribe, inhabiting the Northern Shore of Lake Superior, in the Province of Ontario, in the Dominion of Canada, claim that we have a just grievance against the Government of the said Province of Ontario and not being able to obtain redress through our Department of Indian Affairs at Ottawa are placing our case before Your Most Gracious Majesty, feeling that we will receive justice through you, and though we very much regret to make any appeal to you while your energies are so taxed by the present great war, we feel that as our younger men have and are enlisting freely, that the older people of our Tribe should not be unfairly dealt with and deprived of their only means of livelihood and that such is the case is evidenced by the fact that a number of our Tribe have been heavily fined for acts guaranteed us by Treaty . . .

We attach a copy of the "Robinson Superior Treaty" made in the year 1850, and would call the attention of Your Most Gracious Majesty to that portion of the said Treaty underlined with red ink, wherein we are allowed to hunt and fish in the territory ceded, excepting such portions as are sold or leased and occupied. This clause of our agreement was recognized from the date of the Treaty until the Ontario Game and Fisheries Laws of 1915 became operative, but now we are placed nearly in the same position as white men, and are told that the Honourable William Benjamin Robinson should not have agreed to the hunting and fishing clause, and again that under the British North America Act, the Province of Ontario has full right to administer in everything in the Province, thus cancelling without our consent the most vital portion of our Treaty, and now while our young men are away at war, their parents and dependents who are old and cannot go far to hunt, are in great distress and want, and often prosecuted and fined and would have to go to prison only for good natured white people who, seeing the injustice sometimes pay the poor Indian's fine.

We, therefore, pray that your Most Gracious Majesty will intercede with the Government of the Province of Ontario and have our hunting privileges restored to us, as we will ever pray.[8]

In 1969, Dr. Walter Currie, then Director of Indian-Eskimo studies at Trent University and President of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, wrote that more Indian people should be hired by business and industry.

You businessmen, you mining people, you labour people – where are your Indian foremen? Your Indian field bosses? Have you made efforts to ensure the use and growth of Native Canadian people in your plants? I give you Coppermine and Thompson, Manitoba, as two of several examples of failure to do this. What is needed is new thinking economically, socially and politically to cure these problems. In some cases, maybe thinking for the first time.[9]

In 1977, Grand Chief Andrew Rickard, speaking on behalf of Grand Council Treaty No. 9, emphasized the importance of traditional economic pursuits to

the Cree and Ojibway in northern Ontario. However, Grand Chief Rickard also said that even though the majority of Treaty No. 9 Indians were still relying on hunting, fishing, and trapping, they were not opposed to resource development. The Grand Council's view was that economic development could produce significant benefits, but only if it were planned and implemented with full Indian participation and respect for the Indians' traditional economic pursuits.

We do not oppose development in the north; Grand Council Treaty No. 9 began operations in 1973 with the firm belief that the future of the Native people depends on developing a strong economic base for Native communities. However, economic development which is to benefit the Native people must proceed according to the following principles:

[1] Proposed land use and resource development needs the full participation of both the developers and the Indian people through their organizations, Grand Council Treaty No. 9, in the discussion, planning and implementation of development projects . . .

[2] The economic base of communities are limited to natural resources of the area . . .

[3] Economic activities must take into consideration traditional land use patterns of Indian people . . .

[4] Plans must be developed by the communities themselves, which will serve to benefit the communities; the types of economic development favoured by Treaty No. 9 people are co-operatives, commercial fishing, tourist outfitters and small scale logging. All these types of development should be planned by the people whom they are meant to benefit, and should include employment and management opportunities for Indian people . . .

[5] At no cost should development in Treaty No. 9 endanger the Indian people's economic lifestyle of hunting, fishing and trapping . . . We want to emphasize that this does not mean that we are opposed to all development in Treaty No. 9, but we are opposed to being offered the so-called choice between massive development schemes which will ruin our land and our lifestyle, or the equally unacceptable choice of welfare dependence. This is like being asked which method of suicide we prefer.[10]

Also in 1977, and again in 1978, Indian people and organizations in northern Ontario presented submissions to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment. Once again economic endeavours and the relationship between the people and the land came in for special consideration. Dealing specifically with the question of Indian fishing rights and mercury contamination, Grand Council Treaty No. 3 made the following statement to Commissioner Patrick Hartt:

Shortly after the turn of the century, Ottawa, in its wisdom, informally delegated to Ontario administration of the Federal Fisheries Act. Regulations were passed pursuant to the Act and became known as the Ontario Fisheries Regulations. From its position as agent of the federal Crown, Ontario moved rapidly to a position where policies for application of the Act and amendments to the regulations were set by Ontario. The federal minister is now in a position where he denies that he can unilaterally apply the Fisheries Act in Ontario. This may be a political judgement. By taking this position, the federal government has effectively abrogated its responsibility, a constitutional responsibility conferred on it by Parliament to manage and protect fish and man's use of fish. Nowhere was this denial of responsibility more blatant than in the case of the mercury pollution of the English-Wabigoon Rivers. In spite of the overwhelming evidence that the river system should be closed to all fishing, the federal minister indicated that he could do nothing unless advised to do so by the Ontario government. The truth of the matter is that Ottawa has chosen to deny its responsibility that it has for Native people and the fisheries resource. Treaty No. 3 guarantees the right of fishery, but Ottawa, by surrendering the fisheries management to Ontario, has relinquished any capability to manage the resource and, therefore, cannot meet its treaty commitments.[11]

In 1980, the Chiefs of Ontario proposed the following policy on Indian hunting, fishing, trapping, and gathering rights:

1. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Treaty of Niagara of 1764 confirmed the rights of the Indian nations to the lands occupied and used. The Proclamation and the Treaty did not "grant" or "give" rights; they recognized rights which had existed from time immemorial.
2. The early Treaties in Southern Ontario did not mention hunting or fishing in the written documents. These Treaties were essentially drafted like real estate transactions: they permitted non-Indians to settle on and use the land, which until that time was exclusive Indian land. It was clearly understood by all parties that the Indian rights of hunting and fishing would not be affected by the giving up of the exclusive right to occupy the land. There are records of the reassurances given by officers of the Crown to the Chiefs in these transactions. Where there is no record of the right to hunt and fish having been explicitly given up, those rights are preserved.
3. In those parts of Ontario where there have been no land surrenders, there is no Treaty beyond the commitments given at Niagara. These commitments preserve Aboriginal hunting and fishing rights. If the Indian title to land in a part of Ontario has not been surrendered by Treaty, the Aboriginal rights of Indian people to use their lands in traditional ways remains intact.
4. "Hunting and fishing" includes trapping, snaring, and the gathering of wild plants.
5. The Treaties of 1850 covering the Lake Huron and Lake Superior territories secure the right to hunt and fish on all Crown lands and all unoccupied private lands. These treaties are not "subject to regulation by

the Government of Canada". Nor are the rights secured by them. In passing laws which the courts have held supercede these Treaties, the Government of Canada has acted in breach of the Treaties. These laws should be changed to prevent the continuation of this breach of faith.

6. Indian Treaty rights include the right to hunt and fish for food and clothing and other uses for oneself and other Treaty Indians.
7. The Chiefs will protect and defend any Treaty Indian who is charged with any offence where that offence relates strictly to the exercise of that person's Treaty or Aboriginal rights, and where that person followed proper conservation practices, in hunting or fishing.
8. Within the territory of a Reserve, Band Council By-laws supercede all other laws covering hunting and fishing except parts of Acts passed by the Parliament of Canada. Band Council By-laws supercede the Ontario Game and Fish Act and its Regulations, the Ontario Fishery Regulations, and the Regulations under the Migratory Birds Convention Act.
9. Band Council By-laws in the area of hunting and fishing apply to all persons on the reserve, whether Indian or not. Where the By-law has superceded the Ontario Game and Fish Act and its Regulations, Ontario officers shall not attempt to enforce that Act against non-Indians hunting or fishing on the Reserve.
10. A "policy of leniency" such as has existed in the past is not acceptable to the Chiefs. Either the Governments of Canada and Ontario shall recognize the Treaty obligations of the Crown in laws, or the laws should be enforced and the Governments should acknowledge that they have deliberately broken their promises.
11. If a person has a Treaty right or an Aboriginal right to fish, he has no need to approach any other Government for a "permit" to do so. The practice of the government of Ontario issuing "permits" in recognition of rights is improper: it is a temporary measure. A person who has a right does not need a permit.
12. The right to hunt and fish of an Indian may be exercised in any location where that person's band traditionally hunted, subject to any contrary provision in his Treaty.
13. The Ontario Fishery Regulations are made under the Canada Fisheries Act. In fact, though, they are fully controlled by the Government of Ontario in every aspect. They regulate who can fish, and where, how, when, and how much fishing can take place. They are in direct conflict with Treaty rights. The Ontario Fishery Regulations should be amended to be consistent with promises made in the name of the Crown.
14. In some places, Indian commercial fisheries and commercial trapping activities existed before any Treaty was made. If the Treaty preserves Indian hunting and fishing rights, it also preserves these commercial activities as a right.
15. Where a Band depends on a source of fish or game for part or all of its livelihood, it may take such steps as the Council of the Band deems necessary to protect that resource.
16. Preservation and protection of the resource is a high priority of the Chiefs. Persons wasting or abusing the resource shall be disciplined. Indian people shall regulate their own use of the resources, but it must be understood that Indian use of the resources must have a higher priority than recreational or commercial use of the same resources.[12]

In 1983, in an appearance before the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada, the Nishnawbe-Aski Nation called attention to the economic and spiritual value of the land and its resources to the Indian people in northern Ontario.

For the Nishnawbe-Aski to achieve any semblance of self-reliance by the year 2000 we need not only self-government, we need access to land and resources. We have repeatedly requested that Ontario and Canada meet with us to resolve our land use and management conflicts. A positive beginning was made with the draft Ontario-Canada-Ontario Indian fisheries agreement. Under this agreement our people would have the right and opportunity to control and develop the northern fisheries in co-operation with others. Unfortunately this agreement has not yet been signed. Canada, although a party to the long negotiations, has refused to sign, arguing Constitutional complications. We know that our demands are just and that we will continue to win in the courts. But such a process is such a waste of our fiscal and human resources as well as that of the Governments. Our forefathers entered in[to treaties] in good faith. We call on the Federal Government to sit down with us and clarify and whenever necessary, renegotiate these Treaties, so that our efforts can be channeled into rebuilding our communities . . .

Mr. Commissioner: We know that our land alone cannot support all of our people. We realize that we have benefited by many of the conveniences that have been introduced over the last hundred years. Our people are appreciative of the improvements that have been made in health care and of the opportunities that a higher level of education offers to our children. We cannot go back and we have no wish to. However, the importance of our land and our relationship to it must be understood. We call ourselves the Nishnawbe-Aski which in one of your languages means "the People and the Land."[13]

Proposals to Preserve Algonkian Arts and Media

In 1979, the following statement was made by an anonymous spokesperson about the collection of Native art held by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development:

Many moons ago the Department of Indian Affairs decided to collect a national Indian art treasure. Many moons ago this was done. Since many moons ago this treasure has been sitting unprotected in some basement of the DIAND building and we believe being depleted by those able to gain access. It seems an abomination that this treasure of Indian art should be so badly treated. Our suggestion is to assemble it into either a permanent addition to the National Arts

Centre or the National Museum . . . Another suggestion . . . [is] to assemble it into a travelling show . . . [I]f this is not possible, then at least assemble the collection in proper packing and not leave it open for damage where it is currently stored.[14]

In the same year, an anonymous writer in *Ontario Indian* said that the authenticity of Native crafts was a major concern.

One of the disappointments has been that certain outlets for Native crafts have been allowed to categorize traditional hand-made crafts as souvenirs without making a distinction between man-produced items and traditional items. Souvenirs very often being done on a machine and in most cases, the design of which has only added to the stereotyping of the Indian. Perhaps, successful money-wise, but unfortunate for us, "image-wise" . . .

I could see the need for more attention being given by representatives at the reserve level in the area of purchasing methods of good raw materials at reasonable prices, explanations of the importance of establishing long-terms relationships with a store, rather than selling crafts on a "one-shot" basis to someone passing through a community, and the business dimension of "wholesale and retail."

A co-operative effort by both the reserve level and marketing level can only lead to a better understanding of the sale of Native arts and crafts and create a flow of traditional crafts to the market-place, so necessary for proper cultural representation and respect.[15]

In 1981, the late Mr. James H. Buller, a Cree Indian and founder and director of the Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts (ANDPVA), stated that Native artists could serve as an important symbol to enhance civic pride in Native communities.

One day Native people in Canada will have the same impact on the media and the entertainment field as the Blacks in the U.S. do. Then we too will walk tall . . . We need people who have made their mark, and are second to none in their field, to model ourselves on . . . We need something like the 'Black is Beautiful' slogan . . .

We also need to take a form of civic pride in our artists. Maybe we could put signs outside our reserves so people will see these signs announcing that this is someone Indians are proud of. I dream of there being a sign someday outside Rama Reserve which says "Home of Arthur Shilling" . . . Then others will respect this community for respecting one of its own.[16]

In 1981, Mr. Gary George made this statement about Indian writers:

Without developing Indian writers and thinkers, how are we going to survive as Natives if everytime we need something written we have to hire a white man? White people can only partly understand Indians and Indians can only partly understand white people! Therefore, we need to develop Indian writers who can fill the gap. In the past it was permissible to hire a white man but now it isn't because there are enough educated Indians who can write. Sure, some may not yet be considered professional, however, that does not mean that they are not capable. All they need is a chance to show what they can do and an opportunity to do it by being hired by Indian organizations and other groups when something needs to be written by and for Indians.[17]

Mr. George's statement prompted Ms. Lenore Keeshig-Tobias to reply:

It seems to me that Mr. George has some rather unreal expectations of what "Indian writer" should be and do. How can anyone be expected to fill such a gap, if as he says white people can only partly understand Indians and Indians can only partly understand white people? It seems to me these professionals have let us down and the job of filling the gap is now left up to the writers . . . As for the statement – "we need to develop Indian writers who can fill the gap" – I defy anyone who wants to develop me! I'm a writer. I don't need developing. I need exposure and recognition that, in my own way, I too am contributing to a better understanding of my people.[18]

In 1982, Mr. Garnet Angeconeb, an Ojibway from the Lac Seul Reserve, summarized the operations and aspirations of the Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications Society which operates in northern Ontario.

In 1974, Wa-Wa-Ta Native Communications society was formed in order to control and maintain communication developments in the north. The Society represents the communications interests of the 20,000 Cree and Ojibway people living in the region; a tract of land often referred to as the Treaty Nine area. (Wa-Wa-Ta is a totally separate organization from the Grand Council Treaty Nine.) In this vast region . . . there are some thirty-nine communities spread over an area of 160,000 square miles of land . . .

Radio in the north is obviously there to stay, but what are the future plans for radio? For the past three years the Society has been exploring various ideas of linking together a radio network now that there are over 24 community radio stations and more in the offing. For a few hours each day, Wawata could "deliver national and international news in the Native language to people who want to know what's happening throughout the world." If negotiations go well between Wawata, Ministry of Northern Affairs and TV Ontario these various ideas may soon become realities.

What about educational television? The organization is presently negotiating with the Ontario Ministry of Northern Affairs and the Ontario Education Communications Authority for the possibility of beaming educational television into the north and connecting the existing 24 radio stations into a network.[19]

Also in 1982, Mr. David Wesley made the following statement about Native programming on radio and television:

Although a numerical minority, indigenous Canadians are a special minority, by law as well as tradition. They are, in fact, hosts to all non-Native Canadians, whether willing or unwilling hosts.

Yet foreign visitors watching Canadian television would

be hard-pressed to realize there are any Natives in Canada.

There is no regular national network TV program about the lives, history, news or culture of Native people, let alone for them, or better yet produced by them.

A regular program about Natives wouldn't be expected from CTV or Global. Dazed by the dollar signs emanating from Hollywood's reproductive organs, it would not even occur to them to devote air time to Natives.

But Government networks such as the CBC or TVO are another matter. They have defined mandates to tell the viewers of the nation, and the province, about each other and an ongoing commitment to First Peoples ought to be high on their priority lists.

Such is hardly the case. There is no TV equivalent to CBC-Radio's excellent *Our Native Land* (Saturday's at 7 p.m.). CBC-TV can find a weekly half-hour for stupid, sexist American import about a San Francisco cartoonist, but a series on Canadian Natives? Forget it . . .

True, some satellite outfits and northern cable groups have scheduled Native programming. But it's local and irregular . . .

At one time, white programmers argued that there weren't enough Native people trained in video communications to handle a show. Given the number of Native acting groups and training centres now in existence, that argument is no longer valid.

Television has long bombarded indigenous people with the assimilating power of Can-Am culture. It's time they were given the access and means to fight back.[20]

Proposals to Preserve Algonkian Political Organization

In 1848, Peau de Chat, Chief of the Fort William Indians, pointed out that, from the viewpoint of Algonkian people, land and self-government were closely related.

The Indians are uneasy seeing their lands occupied by the Whites, taking away the mineral and they wish that our Great Father would at once settle the matter. Come and ask me for my land and mineral that there be no bad feelings left . . . then the White man the miner and trader could do what he liked with the land and so could the Indian on that part which we would like to reserve, when we give our land up we will reserve a piece for ourselves and we, with our families, will live happily on it we will do as we please with it.[21]

In 1884, the Grand Council of Ontario Indians, a predecessor of the Union of Ontario Indians, recorded the following statement about voting rights in the minutes of one of its meetings:

Since this last Grand Council the Dominion Government has passed a Franchise Act, in which the adult male Indian of Ontario . . . who has proper property qualifications is allowed the privilege of voting for a representative in his constituency for the Dominion Parliament . . . [T]he right to exercise the Franchise has for many years been the great object of the Grand Council. An Indian adopting the provisions of the enfranchisement clauses of the Indian Act, would be entitled to that privilege, but it has always been unfair to the Indian, for he would, as a measure, be obliged to sever his connection with his people, and there would be a great danger in breaking up the tribal union, which now exists, and which the Aborigines are anxious to maintain.[22]

In 1947, in an appearance before a joint House of Commons/Senate committee looking into the Indian Act, the late Mr. D. Pine from the Garden River Reserve made the following statement about Indian self-government:

Our Chief and Council should conduct the government of the reserve. They should have the say as to who gets relief, grants, loans, instead of the [Indian] agent. At the time of the making of the treaties our forefathers were considered capable of self-government. There should be more reason now, owing to years of education, why they should be capable of handling their own affairs.[23]

In 1950, Mr. Henry Jackson made the following comment about the committee's proposed revisions to the Indian Act:

[W]e as a people bitterly resent . . . suggestions of assimilation or absorption and we cannot accept such, as there is no justification of the suggestion.

Among a good many of these things I am taking a serious exception to is the general attitude of the Government and its report in pre-determining the fate of the Indians without adequate representation from the Indians themselves. In the actual revision of the Indian Act and deciding the future fate of the Algonquins I think this is particularly important. In the settling of disputes and determining the actual status of Indian rights and the privileges under the Treaties which directly concern the ownership and the unquestionable heritage of the Indian Race I am of the opinion that the Indians themselves, through their organizations should have a greater voice in determining the future of their nation . . .

The *Primus-inter pares* position of our race in this country demands an equal status to voice of any changes to be made in the laws governing the life of the Indians or any alteration of treaty that will affect the future destiny of our people. History verifies that we were the owners of this country, soverign to our own. The White man came and made a treaty between equals, one was to give up certain titles, and the white man promised protection in return for all Aboriginal titles excepting such as was relinquished to them. These obligations were soon forgotten and soon as the white man felt secure and powerful enough he began to impose to serve his own purpose through peaceful means of extermination, to the detriment of the Indian race . . .[24]

In 1968, Dr. Walter Currie wrote that the Indian Act was the single most important impediment to the political progress of Indian people.

You must understand that the Indian people have existed under an Act which has treated them paternalistically, which has excluded them from the Canadian way of life, which has isolated them from a world of progress and growth. You must understand the effect this Act and its

execution has had, and does have, upon the mental set of my people. The Indian people have believed and still believe in too many cases, that whatever the Indian agent says is Law. They do not realize their own human rights, their right to take their problems to succeeding levels, including the prime minister. You cannot live as my people have lived for generations without acquiring the inertia against acting for oneself. As Josh White says in one of his songs, "I been down so long, I ain't never thought of standing up."

What then is to be done? The federal government, which is the people of Canada, must examine its policies and role toward its Native people. The provincial governments must get off their tailbones and . . . accept the fact that these people are citizens as much as anyone else in the provinces and therefore deserve equal opportunities and equal services. It is high time that the provinces stopped hiding behind the idea that "Indians are a federal responsibility." One sometimes gets the idea that the only time the provinces fight for provincial rights is when a source of revenue is involved.

The Indian people want to accept, and must be given, the responsibility for their destinies.[25]

One year later, Dr. Currie made the following statement about Native political organizations:

Whatever happens in curing today's problems and preventing tomorrow's ills, you must involve Canada's Native people – the Indians and the Eskimos. Indian organizations do exist, nationally and provincially. They are trying to organize their people, trying to learn and hear their needs, trying to create a voice to help them be heard and recognized. You men of industry and financial resources, can help these struggling organizations to become viable and effective by offering them dollar assistance.[26]

In 1977, representatives from Grand Council Treaty No. 3 told the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment that their Aboriginal rights gave them the authority to control the land and its resources.

The wealth in our land is ours. We intend to retain control over its production and use. I wish to stress once more that the Ojibway of Treaty No. 3 claim northwestern Ontario as their ancestral home. We understand the delicate balance of the northern ecology. We understand and we plan to conserve it. Conservation and control are our demands. We are asserting our rights as the Aboriginal people of northwestern Ontario.[27]

Also in 1977, Grand Council Treaty No. 9 made the following statement to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment:

We require a firm power base of legislation from which we can insist on the recognition and acceptance of our special status as a people with Aboriginal rights. This recognition will facilitate the coming together of our various societies in the spirit of equality. It will eliminate racist and dependent relationships. With a strong Nishnawbe-Aski power base in our north, there would exist a real possibility of recovering power from Toronto for all northern peoples. Our people, with their special status, have a unique right to self-determination.[28]

In 1983, in its submission to Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government, the Ontario Native Women's Association made the following statement about Indian peoples' political goals:

The Indian nation leadership must entrench more clearly its members' rights in the Constitution. The rights to be addressed must include the existing contracted – meaning treaty – rights and obligations of the federal Government of Canada.

[1] [T]he protection of land and resources. This must be from the Indian nations' perspective, as they are the original protectors of the land and its resources . . .

[2] [P]olitical autonomy for Indian nations, with representation at the federal and provincial level chosen from within a nation's membership. Full participation by Native women in all decision-making that affects each individual partner government . . .

[3] [E]ach nation knows who its membership are and will no longer tolerate interference from other governments. Each nation should have its own membership criteria based on Aboriginal descent, customs, life-style and values, subject to the equality principle entrenching constitutional protection for men and women . . .

[4] [P]owers of Indian nation member groups. Bands must have control of their own internal functions, membership, land and resources. The band must have the power to create and negotiate on its own behalf with other legal entities on resource development, Indian economic development, agreements, schemes, taxation, et cetera . . .

[5] [T]he Department of Indian Affairs must be controlled and mandated and must implement policy as directed by Indian nations and act on behalf of Indian nations. The present dual role of the Department . . . as the delegated trustee for Indians and land reserved for the Indians and as an administrative arm of the federal government is a direct conflict of interest . . .

[6] [A]ll treaty obligations entered into between Indian nations and the federal government must be honoured – including health, education, welfare, housing, land, resources, hunting, trapping and fishing – and will take precedence over federal-provincial agreements and must be maintained – including funding – at a level equal to the standards that exist as the norm in provinces and their municipalities. We are saying that funds must be made available to upgrade the existing facilities of member bands of the Indian nations. This must be binding on all federal government departments . . .

[7] [O]n fiscal matters, the federal government is obliged to share the financial resources it has access to with Indian nations. This is a contracted obligation in return for the Indian nations' long-term loan of their land and its resources that the Government of Canada has access to. The Indian nations' leaders must share in the decision-making that allocates financial resources in order to ensure their fair share.[29]

Mechanisms Proposed to Preserve Algonkian Spiritual Values and Beliefs

In 1969, Mr. Fred Kelly, then assistant president of the National Indian Brotherhood and vice-president of the Union of Ontario Indians, and later Director-General of the Ontario region of the Department of Indian Affairs, wrote about the preservation of Native culture and federal government's White Paper policy.

What do the Native people want? Any desire for change affecting the Native people and its subsequent action must originate from them. The degree and direction must be decided by them. The criteria for judging their successes must be determined by them.

Equality of opportunity no longer means enough. Racism and bigotry can magically cease to exist suddenly, but the Native people will still be ill-housed, ill-fed. They will still be living in substandard conditions. They will still have to contend with inadequate health services and improper education and unemployment. Until the preconditions are settled, "equality of opportunity" will remain in the lexicon of empty cliches.

While the Indians desire integration, they do not construe this to mean assimilation. They want to become equal partners in society while retaining a specific identity in the Canadian mosaic. This is not possible without mutual trust. They are not asking for love; they are demanding their rights. Many of these rights are contained in the treaties signed many years ago but now broken. Is this conducive to trust? Before they are legislated into the mainstream of society by the proposed new Indian policy, these treaties are to be honored. Integrity before integration.

There are certain facts that the Native people must face in their considered action.

Indian unity must be redefined from cultural unity to mean a uniformity of cause. Indian unity now has been used to convey a wide range of meanings, including cultural unity. Not only is this impossible, it is the advocacy of another type of assimilation – tribal. What is more urgent, possible, and workable is concerted action. This means uniting behind common grievances, supporting each other, and pressing together in a co-ordinated manner the remedy that is decided upon together . . .

The struggle ahead will require a sustained effort. Therefore, new leadership must be developed, strong and dedicated. Clearly, the youth must be involved from local-level to top-level negotiations and action.

Strategies must be flexible. A foresighted constructiveness must precede any sense of destructiveness. If militant tactics are to be employed, they must be predicated on intelligent militancy not anarchistic militancy. Too often militant activism is too preoccupied by plans for destroying the prevailing system to formulate alternatives or definable programs. If modern tactics are to be utilized, the faith and future of the Native people must not be compromised.

Finally, what is required is discipline in pursuing solutions to problems that are important – patience and shrewdness in developing goals and strategies.[x]

In 1971, Mr. James Dumont, an Indian clergyman and editor of the *Toronto Native Times*, talked about spiritual values and beliefs in this way:

I came at last to see that the churches have been guilty of practicing cultural genocide. By considering everything Indian as heathen and pagan, and by demanding that Native people renounce all that their fathers and forefathers cherished, they were in fact asking them to deny their past. But once you deny your past you have no link with your history and, therefore, no identity. This was the last devastating blow of all. The Indian did not know who he was . . .

[The churches are] careful about overseas missions, but almost anyone can be sent to minister on an Indian reserve. For some it's a last resort; they don't make it anywhere else . . . They don't know our culture and don't care to learn . . .

On many northern reserves evangelical sects are now coming in by plane and trying to convert my people from being Anglican or Roman Catholic to something else. Consequently, Indians see only a divided church in competition for souls, bringing dissention and confusion in its wake . . .

Christians teach that the thing of ultimate value is service to others . . . That's what I really grasped on to. I did not have a mature concept of Christianity, but I did want to serve – not just my own people, but humanity in general . . .

From grade eleven on I had not had much contact with my own people . . . Once placed with them I suddenly realized I was so much more comfortable there than at any time in my educational career. It was not just a matter of race; their lifestyle, their values, even though not always put into words, spoke to me as formal theology had not. Gradually, as I reflected, I became aware of all that was wrong in the church's relationship with Indians and I found it hard to finish my final term . . .

We believe in a Great Spirit who created all things. Each Indian has to experience in his own way a personal link with Him. This personal relationship is the ground of one's inner strength and central to everything else. Each must be left free to develop his spiritual life without interference from others. We believe also in a deep reverence for mother earth, in the need for a shared, communal life and strong family ties. The circle where the common pipe is smoked is for us a form of communion service . . .

Basically, [the most pressing issue is] what it means to be an Indian today . . . If you try to uphold the ancient values of sharing, communal life, non-interference and respect for nature, everything around you denies them. North American society has a compulsion to make everyone believe and do the same things. It's a conversion-obsession and I just don't mean in religion. If an Indian does not conform to the competitive, aggressive, individualistic ethic, then Manpower or some other agency will feel they must make him conform. Yet this is the very life-style that is destroying society itself.

Indians are convinced that Western society is rushing headlong to destruction and that Indian people and their values could provide an answer. From pollution to the

obvious lack of spiritual depth in people's lives we see problems for which Indian ways of looking at things offer insight . . .

Indian violence is possible if things remain as they now are, especially as our people become aware of their real lot and racism that does exist. I don't approve of violence – or rather, I don't advocate it. But then it's not a matter of being for or against. It is something that happens automatically if people are pushed far enough and long enough. When it does happen it will indicate something is desperately wrong. If society just looks at the violence it will be looking at the wrong end. Yet this is what constantly happens.[31]

In 1974, Mr. Louis Cameron, a resident of the Whitedog (Islington) Indian Reserve and one of the leaders in the Ojibway Warriors' Society occupation of Anicinabe park in 1973, made the following statement about Algonkian spiritualism:

I think . . . that spiritualism is a term commonly used by white people and I think it describes a mental image of somebody practising shenanigans in the air. Midewin is the ceremonies of the entire community of Native people, of Anicinabe people. There is pow-wows, there is different kind of ceremonies and the practice of the ceremonies, the belief in the community way – the life of the community. There is no idealism or spiritualism as used by other people. I think it is just a full and material understanding of the ways of Anicinabe people, the traditions of the Ojibway people. The ceremonies, the culture, they have to go through the ways in order to fully understand the Midewin. They have to spend an entire lifetime of practice. So that's why I say that it is not the same kind of spiritualism that's used by backward, cowardly people who call themselves militants. For example, they say spiritualism is the answer to Native people but they have no idea in their entire minds about what they're talking. That's just an escape from the political or from the confrontation they've gotten themselves into. It's an escape route. A lot of contemporary militant people have taken spiritualism as an escape, to run away from the confrontations and the great deal of commitment and courage that is needed to get involved in community organizing.

So that is not what I'm talking about . . . Some people have no idea of what kind of commitment it takes to get involved in the ways of your people. You have to sacrifice a lot of the dreams and aspirations which were . . . totally false and perpetuated into the hearts and minds of the young people throughout Canada and the United States from the propoganda, from the press, from the books, from the comics, from movies, advertisements: the kind of dreams that are instituted on people. You can't base a movement or organization on a superficial scale. . . People have to sacrifice their entire life, to step into it with everything. This is at least the beginnings of the teachings of Midewin. This is the first step that you have to make. You have to make a lifetime commitment.[32]

In 1976, the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario made the following recommendations about culturally-oriented programs and resource centres:

[1] a) Public libraries work with Native organizations to develop special "Native studies" collections;
b) public libraries develop mobile units which can travel to outlying communities providing accurate Native resource material to Native and non-Native communities;
c) public libraries hire a Native resource person to develop library services which will better meet the needs of Native peoples;
d) information on government agencies and services, Native organizations, etc., be available at all public libraries and in mobile units . . .

[2] Funding be granted to those culturally-oriented Native programmes and associations which are dedicated to the development among Native peoples of pride in cultural heritage . . .

[3] Long-term funding be provided Native cultural resource centres, so that they have the facilities, staff, and time, to develop comprehensive cultural education programmes, e.g. the recording of legends into written form . . .

[4] The government of Ontario and the Department of Indian Affairs investigate the potential of abandoned army bases and residential schools for use as Native cultural colleges . . .

[5] a) The Ministry of Industry and Tourism, in close cooperation with the Native peoples, prepare positive data about Native communities, Native culture and art, Native recreational facilities, and Native camping grounds;
b) the Ministry of Industry and Tourism expand on Native content in various tourist publications . . .

[6] Native resource centres be supplied with materials on government programmes and services, e.g. material on legal aid, Child Welfare Act, etc.[33]

Summary

The proposals contained in this chapter that have been made to preserve the integrity of Algonkian social organization, economic organization, arts and media, political organization, and spiritual values and beliefs include the following:

Social Organization

a) Allow Indian people to control their own education.
b) Allow Indian people to control membership in Indian bands.
c) Increase funding for day-care, health services, drug abuse programs, and correctional services.
d) Allow Indian people to design, deliver, and hire Native staff for their own social service programs.

Economic Organization

a) Provide Indian people with access to land and natural resources.
b) Allow Indian people to pursue their traditional economic endeavours.
c) Encourage business and industry to hire more Native

employees.

d) Allow Indian people to participate fully in any plans for resource development.
e) Pass legislation that will protect the Indian peoples' ability to hunt, trap, fish, and gather food.

Arts and Media

a) Have more public displays of Native arts and crafts.
b) Encourage Indian people to have pride in their own artists and craftspeople.
c) Encourage more Native people to become writers.
d) Increase funding for radio and television broadcasting into Native communities.
e) Produce more television programs with Native content.

Political Organization

a) Establish a land base for Indian communities.
b) Allow Indian people to govern themselves without interference from the Department of Indian Affairs.
c) Increase economic support for Native political organizations.
d) Allow Indian people to participate fully in discussions concerning treaty rights.

Spiritual Values and Beliefs

a) Improve the Indians' existing social and economic conditions.
b) Elect effective political leaders in native political organizations who have clear-cut political goals.
c) Uphold traditional values by living a traditional life.
d) Increase funding for cultural centres.
e) Increase public promotion of the Indians' history and traditional cultural beliefs.

5. Proposals by Metis and Non-Status Indians to Preserve their Cultural Heritage

This chapter contains proposals made by Metis and non-status Indians to preserve the integrity of their culture.

Proposals to Preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' Social Organization

Like the Iroquoians and the Algonkians, Metis and non-status Indians are also concerned about preserving their social organization. For example, in 1976 the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario, which included a representative from the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, made the following recommendations about financial assistance to Metis and non-status Indian students:

1. a) The government of Ontario provide similar financial assistance to Metis and non-status Indian students as is presently provided by the Department of Indian Affairs to treaty Indian students, i.e. allowance for: school supplies; clothing; room and board; travel; recreation; and extra-curricular activities;
   b) this allowance be granted to elementary, secondary and post-secondary school students.
2. a) Special bursaries, grants, and scholarships be established specifically for Metis and non-status Indian students, so that they are able to pursue their education without financial worry;
   b) the administration of this programme be turned over to the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association.
3. a) Grants, rather than loans, be made available at the secondary and post-secondary level;
   b) grants be raised in accordance with inflation;
   c) student loans be 100% forgiveable.
4. a) A special bursary programme be established for Metis and non-status Indian students wishing to utilize their education through working with Native peoples;
   b) the criteria for this programme be developed by the Ministry of Colleges and Universities and the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association, in consultation with the Metis and non-status Indian locals.
5. The provincial government appoint a field representative to deal exclusively with the provision of financial assistance to Metis and non-status Indian students.
6. Metis and non-status Indian students receive adequate financial assistance to enable them to attend the school of their choice.
7. Additional assistance be provided Metis and non-status Indian peoples who must relocate for upgrading and retraining courses.
8. a) Information on available grants, bursaries, loans, and scholarships, be mailed to each Metis and non-status Indian association local, to ensure that students are aware of these programmes;
   b) information workshops on educational opportunities be provided where requested.
9. Any grants, loans, bursaries, or scholarships, be received by students at the beginning of the school year to enable them to purchase books, etc.
10. Youth allowances be increased and continue after age 18 if the child remains in school.
11. Artistically creative and talented Native peoples be given the same right and privilege of access to public funds for education, as those who are directed into technical or vocational training.[1]

In 1979, the Native Council of Canada said that Metis and non-status Indian children should receive an education that focuses on their own cultural heritage.

> If we are to survive as a distinct people with a rich cultural heritage we must gain control over the schools where our children are educated . . .
>
> We place great faith in education. It is the hope of our people, the hope for a better future. But without the right to educate our children in our own history and culture, there is little hope for our survival as a people – only a future where our children can succeed in school by turning their backs to their own people. We have too much faith in our children and in our future to doom our children to this fate. If education is the road to progress *we* must pave the way.[2]

In an undated pamphlet likely published in the late 1970s, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association also stressed the importance of preserving the cultural heritage of Metis and non-status Indian people by establishing a Native system of education.

> The education system in Ontario . . . has failed to provide a satisfactory education for most of our people in the province . . .
>
> One reason is because the provincial education system is geared for people who are already a part of the mainstream of Canadian society . . . Many of our children begin school with no knowledge of the English language. Yet Metis and non-status Indian students are expected to adapt, without any special assistance, to what is from their point of view a largely foreign education system.
>
> Most of our school children cannot successfully adapt and, therefore, are severely handicapped in their attempts to gain an education. Those who do adapt successfully, do

so at the expense of losing their Native culture and identity.

At the same time, the education system reinforces among non-Native students damaging images of our people and a lack of respect for our cultural heritage.

The education system has also failed to provide adequate financial assistance to enable our children to complete their elementary, secondary and post-secondary education . . .

With a more relevant and higher level of education we will be able to break away from the cycle of poverty/lack of education/lack of job opportunities in which we are caught.[3]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association endorsed the following recommendations concerning membership in Native society, education, and the law:

[1] The patrilineal bias in the Indian Act should be terminated. This should involve . . . the repeal of Section 12(1)(b), the illegitimacy rule, the "double mother" rule, and all other clauses which discriminate against Indians on the basis of sex and male descent . . . [and] the revision of the membership rules so that Indian men and women acquire or lose status in the same way . . .

[2] An accurate survey of non-status Indians should be conducted to determine how many wish to regain registered status and of these how many wish to live on reserves. The federal government should . . . reinstate those non-status Indians so desiring onto band lists or onto the general list . . . permit those non-status Indians preferring to move onto reserves to do so . . . enter into negotiations with band councils and provincial governments to adjust the size of reserves and their budgets to meet the increase in population if and where this is necessary . . . ensure that those non-status Indians preferring to remain off reserves are entitled to the same rights and privileges as status Indians living off reserves . . .

[3] Education authorities should take steps to increase the admission of Native people into teachers' colleges and education departments of universities . . .

[4] Native councellors should be hired to serve as liaisons between Native communities and schools . . .

[5] Native people should be brought onto school boards and where numbers warrant, Native representation on these boards should be guaranteed . . .

[6] Special measures should be adopted to provide Native people with access to vocational training programs which should be adaptable to their needs and lifestyle . . .

[7] Metis and non-status Indian students who qualify should be eligible for the same level of financial assistance from the federal government as that offered status Indians . . .

[8] The federal government should have jurisdiction in those areas of family law where particular provision should be made for the interests of Native children . . .

[9] Tribunals should be established across the country to propose family law changes for Native people and these bodies should also be responsible for monitoring the administration of the legislation . . .

[10] In the enactment and administration of family law in general, Native cultural factors should be taken into account. Customary marriages, for instance, should be legally recognized . . .

[11] More Native lawyers and para-legal personnel such as courtworkers should be trained to bridge the gap between Native people and the court system . . .

[12] Native people should be ensured the right to have court proceedings interpreted into their own languages. Funds should be provided . . . to ensure interpreters are made familiar with court proceedings . . . to ensure that judges, police, prosecutors and defence lawyers who practice in areas where there are significant numbers of Native people are familiar with the culture of the people they serve and the nuances of their languages . . .

[13] Both federal and provincial governments should take further steps to implement the recommendations of the National Conference on Native Peoples and the Criminal Justice System in 1975 . . .[4]

In 1982, Metis lawyers Ovide Mercredi and Clem Chartier, the latter a constitutional advisor to the Native Council of Canada, wrote the following about child welfare services:

The Economic Council of Canada states that one of the most important consequences of poverty is that it prohibits the poor in living productive lives in society. The fact that the poor family is unable to "invest in itself is likely to have particularly serious consequences in young people whose potential abilities are largely shaped in the years of early childhood". The importance of the family in Indigenous society is without dispute. The family traditionally has been an important economic unit which developed the potential abilities of its members to enable them to participate in Indigenous society as productive members.

The Native family, however, has been stripped of its traditional responsibilities and significance because of insensitive Christian and governmental policies to assimilate the Indigenous Peoples into the mainstream of society. Historically, missionization and education have contributed to the decline of the family as a source of comfort and education. It is the Christians with the financial aid of the government who are responsible for the education policy which involved a massive removal of children from the contact, love and influence of their parents. The current unwillingness of the provincial and federal governments to respond to the child welfare needs of Indigenous people is merely a continuation of an insensitive policy which has resulted in the near destruction of the Native lifestyle. Despite the glaring evidence of child welfare problems, neither level of government is prepared to take any true initiative, other than buck-passing, to enable the Indigenous People to restore the family unit as a significant force to Native existence. The Indigenous People lack the resources and legal authority to take the matter into their own hands. Inaction, in the last analysis will, as the Economic Council of Canada predicted, result in the perpetuation of the problem . . .

Accordingly, if the Government and the people of Canada are sincere in their desire to effect positive change for the Indigenous Peoples of Canada, especially in child welfare matters, resources will have to be made available as well as innovative legislative provisions. This of course is made possible by virtue of the proposed Constitutional Conference which is to be held within one year of the passing of the *Canada Act*. Additionally, attitudes are difficult to change, nevertheless there must be a concerted effort to effect it.

We must ensure that Indian child welfare rights are established and respected. These would include, amongst other things:

[1] . . . The right to remain in a Native community.
[2] . . . The right to participate in Native culture.
[3] . . . The right to treaty provisions.
[4] . . . The right to retain an Indigenous identity.
[5] . . . The right to be placed in Native foster homes.
[6] . . . The right to be adopted by Native parents.
[7] . . . Generally, the right to reach adulthood within an environment perpetuating a Native heritage.[5]

Proposals to Preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' Economic Organization

In 1972, in a brief presented to the Secretary of State, the Native Council of Canada made the following statement about the importance of government funds to develop and carry out programs in Metis and non-status Indian communities:

Let our group make one thing abundantly clear to you and to the Federal Government. We are not asking you to recognize us as a special people with problems but rather as a people with special problems. There are many other federal departments and agencies with whom we deal and with whom we wish to continue dealing directly. Those that have shown a heightened interest and understanding in recent months include CMHC, Health and Welfare, DREE and Manpower. To a lesser extent the federal Department of Justice and the Solicitor-General have awakened to our peculiar needs and wants and we are optimistic that, whatever their past record, they are now alert to our requirements and sympathetically disposed to helping us. In all our contacts with your department and with most other federal agencies we have tried to obtain assistance that is not encumbered by ineffective requirements and procedures. We have sought and we still seek funds we can use to develop our own programs and our own solutions to meet problems that traditional structures and procedures of the Federal government have failed to solve.[6]

In 1979, the Native Council of Canada said that the identity of Metis and non-status Indian people is linked to the land and its natural resources.

We are part of the land. It is the source of our identity. For us to reject the land and abandon it to those who do not care for it is to deny our heritage . . .

We will never give up our right to the land and its natural resources. To forsake the land is to forsake ourselves.[7]

In that same document the Council also said:

[W]e are not against genuine economic development. We know the needs of the modern world and have no wish to hoard vital resources. All we seek is the right to take part in the development of these resources as partners and not as victims.

As partners we should share in the management and ownership of the corporations which take wealth out of our land. We should have representation on all those boards and committees which decide how development is to take place. We should be guaranteed a share of the profits of the companies which operate on our traditional lands. Only then can we fulfill our obligation to the land and future generations.[8]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association endorsed the following recommendations:

[1] The federal government and Metis and non-status Indian representatives should enter into negotiations with provincial governments to settle the land titles of Native people and the federal government should be prepared if necessary to compensate the provinces for lands transferred to Native people . . .
[2] In Part III of the Constitutional Act entitled Equalization and Regional Disparities the federal government and provincial governments should be committed to reduce disparities between Aboriginal people and other Canadians and to reduce disparities between northern and southern regions . . .
[3] Lateral linkages should be developed between the "have not" northern regions of provinces, particularly in western Canada, and this factor should be taken into account in the planning of physical infrastructure and regional development projects . . .
[4] Native people should be given access to equalization payments in order to reduce disparities between them and non-Native Canadians. Towards this end . . . a new provision should be made in Part III which will commit the Government of Canada to the principle of making equalization payments to ensure that the governing bodies of the Aboriginal peoples have sufficient revenues to promote the economic development of Aboriginal peoples . . . payments should be transferred in part to the Metis National Council and in part to regional Native Development Corporations and Native Development Corporations in "have" and "have-not" provinces . . .
[5] Regional development agreements should directly involve Native Development Corporations and Native Development Corporations and Native representation should be part of any proposed regional disparities review process . . .
[6] The mobility rights section of the Constitution Act should be amended to state that the entrenchment of mobility rights does not preclude any law, program or activity that has as its object the economic development of Aboriginal peoples . . .
[7] Hunting, fishing, trapping and other renewable re-

source rights should be considered Aboriginal rights and should be included in Section 33 of the Constitution Act. Agreements on resource management and conservation should be worked out between Native peoples and the respective governments . . .

[8] Metis and non-status Indian land claims across Canada should be resolved and the federal policy of distinguishing between comprehensive and specific claims areas should be terminated. In land claims agreements Aboriginal rights should be recognized, not extinguished, on all lands covered by the agreements. These agreements should . . . provide Native people with compensation for past losses and a share of revenues derived from resource development on all lands covered by the agreements in perpetuity . . . specify that no agreement monies should go towards meeting the costs of services and programs previously borne by government that these services and programs should not be reduced or adversely affected by the agreements . . . ensure an adequate degree of Native control over the use and management of the land and its resources by guaranteeing effective Native participation on land-use regulatory boards and on environment boards . . . ensure that Native people have the authority to enact rules and regulations concerning the harvesting of renewable resources on all lands covered by the agreements . . .

[9] Native peoples should be guaranteed representation on all boards and agencies (e.g. the National Energy Board) which control the pace of development of the land and its resources.[9]

In 1982, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association presented a brief to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment which contained the following recommendations:

[1] Whether regional or local, all [resource] development should be controlled by a committee of affected residents . . .

[2] On the regional level a committee composed of Native and non-Native people should be immediately established on a representation by population basis . . .

[3] Each community should define the land base required for its continuation, and control development within that sphere of influence . . .

[4] All water ways to have a buffer zone of a minimum of one mile. Current usage of these zones may continue, but all future development must not occur without regional consensus . . .

[5] Those roads required for community development should be constructed immediately . . . All such roads to have controlled access. Such access to be defined by affected residents . . .

[6] Parks as defined within the [West Patricia Land Use] plan are seriously detrimental to the continuation of our culture. If such parks are to be created, their usage for other purposes should be included according to current and traditional practices . . .

[7] All regulations regarding wildlife harvesting which do not reflect the current and traditional practices of Native people are to be abolished . . .

[8] The current moratorium on issuing new [wild rice harvesting] licenses should continue until the needs of the Native community are met . . .

[9] No [waste disposal] sites are to be created without the consent of residents, whether they be for nuclear waste or residential garbage.[10]

At the First Ministers' Conference held in March, 1983, Mr. Bill Wilson, representing the Native Council of Canada, told Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau that Native culture was intimately associated with the land and its resources.

If you proceed on the assumption that . . . [Native Canadians] have some [rigid] . . . system of land registry and there are pieces of property here, there and everywhere that have been staked out by individuals in the way that non-Indian people do it, you are missing the point, and if I might bring to you one idea; when the German forces occupied France, did the French people believe they didn't own the country? I sincerely doubt that there was one French person in France during the war that ever had the belief that France belonged to Germany, which is why, of course, they struggled with our assistance to liberate their country and once again take it back for themselves . . .

So the reality that you have imposed [upon us] is not an Indian system of ownership and registry . . . [and] doesn't in any way negate our assumption held since time immemorial that the land was given to us by the Great Spirit and is owned by us.[11]

Proposals to Preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' Arts and Media

Although perhaps not as well known as Iroquoian and Algonkian artists and craftspeople, Metis and non-status Indians are also involved in the production of Native arts and crafts, and in Native broadcasting and journalism.[12] They are consequently concerned with the preservation of both these aspects of their culture. For example, in 1972, Mr. A. E. Belcourt, then President of the Native Council of Canada, presented a brief to the Secretary of State in which he said:

Without labouring the point we draw your attention to the substantial funds made available by the Federal Government several years ago for Native arts and crafts development in Canada. The administration of this program was vested with the Department of Indian Affairs. They have in their possession a report which documents in painful detail their failure after an expenditure of several million dollars. They not only were unable to get money into the hands of Native craftsmen but their purchasing procedures required their officers to record the band number of those Natives with whom they dealt. This preoccupation with "registered" Indians not only was divisive at the community level but resulted in a massive wastage of federal funds . . .

In the course of the past year we have made several specific requests to you and we want to repeat them now

because these are matters that are within your power to grant . . .

[1] We would like to see Native representation on several key federal agencies and boards. We refer to the CRTC and the CBC, where we feel that the presence of a Native appointee would not only be good for these boards but would serve as a communications link between us and them . . .

[2] We have referred to cultural-educational centres several times in our brief but now we want to give you some specific advice: we see no hope of success for the program itself and no benefit whatever to the Metis and non-status people of Canada if the funds and the control of those funds remain in the hands of the federal Department of Indian Affairs. We support the statement of the National Indian Brotherhood when, a few months ago, they took the stand that the cultural-educational centres, if they are to mean anything, must be planned, programmed and operated by the Native people themselves without control or direction from DIAND. We cannot overemphasize the point that the way in which this program is administered and the agency which administers it is every bit as important as the concept itself and the provision of funds.[13]

In 1980, Ms. Maria Campbell, a nationally known Metis writer, said that Native arts needed much greater promotion.

The white man built himself colleges, universities, museums, cultural centres and there is money set aside for him to do all those things – to teach his children and his people his greatness, to tell the world. We have never had that privilege. We have little sections in the museums. Once in a blue moon they will allow our dancers or musicians or artists to use those facilities for an hour. If we are lucky, maybe a week. It is not because they want to show the world how great we are but simply to let everybody know of their benevolence.

As a writer representing other Metis artists, I find this really a put-down on us and the kinds of things we, as artists, represent. I feel one of the strong recommendations that should be made in the constitution is that we be allowed . . . to develop . . . all of our arts which includes film, live theater, recording of our music, both contemporary and traditional, collections of all of these things from the past. This should be a part of the guarantees that the government will give us. These are predominant roles.[14]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association endorsed the following recommendations concerning arts and the media:

[1] Public cultural institutions should ensure that the Native dimension of Canadian identity is preeminantly portrayed . . .

[2] Native communications systems should be recognized as being inter-provincial in scope and should remain within the jurisdiction of the federal government . . .

[3] The CRTC should make licensing of companies wishing to broadcast into Native communities and areas with significant Native populations conditional upon the companies' agreeing to work with Native communications organizations to ensure an adequate level of Native content and Native control over programming design for Native audiences . . .

[4] The CRTC should encourage licence applications from Native communities and organizations to operate broadcasting facilities in predominantly Native communities . . .

[5] Predominantly Native communities should have the right to decide on the channels to be delivered locally: to eliminate complete channels; and on any particular channel to eliminate a program or substitute one of its own choice . . .

[6] A national Native broadcasting service should be established as a branch of the CBC and a national Native film service to be established as a branch of the National Film Board. These services should promote production by Native people and Native-language programming . . .

[7] The Native peoples of Canada should have the right to communicate with indigenous peoples in other countries. Towards this end the Government of Canada should . . . encourage the involvement of Native peoples in the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, an international federation of indigenous peoples . . . foster cultural exchanges between Canada's indigenous population and that of other countries . . . become more responsive to the concerns of Canada's Native peoples about the treatment of indigenous people in other countries and should take these concerns into account in its international behaviour . . .

[8] Support for the Native press should be increased to allow Native people to participate actively in the political decisions and events which directly affect them.[15]

In 1982, Mr. Robert LaFontaine, a Metis journalist, called for a more independent Native press.

In a sad and twisted way we are a controlled narrow-minded bunch. There is a fine line between advocacy journalism and outright propaganda. We have crossed that line many times. Honesty takes a backseat. Like clerks in the Department of Indian Affairs we shuffle to and fro, obeying orders from on high. Mindless sheep waiting to regurgitate to a highly receptive, uninformed Native populace. And we are good at it.

As journalists we are supposed to be "watch dogs of governments". Unfortunately for Native journalists we have to walk a thin line like a high wire act. We have to promote and yet watch out for the best interests of Native people from politicians. And most of all we must have the ability and courage to speak up when we feel we are right and the people's rights are being violated.

As journalists we have all had to make difficult decisions. We have all had to decide if the implications of a "scandal" story was worth altering the delicate balance between our people and government. Honesty and independence have to be our priorities. We cannot allow the politicians to control the newsroom. What we print has to be our decision and we have to keep it that way in order to

maintain even a limited freedom.[16]

Proposals to Preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' Political Organization

The Metis have long been active participants in the political life of Canada. One of the most famous historical examples is the "List of Rights" brought forward by the provisional government of the Metis in the Red River Country in 1870. Contemporary Metis and non-status Indians have also proposed mechanisms to preserve their political organizations. In 1972, for example, in a brief presented to the Secretary of State, the Native Council of Canada made this statement about the political aspirations of Metis and non-status Indian people:

We could continue to list examples of the way in which the administration of Native affairs in this country creates a tragic division not only at the community level but often between brothers and sisters (we can name families where one child is an "Indian" within the meaning of the [Indian] Act but the rest of the children are not). Regrettably there is a larger, more damaging side effect: the public-at-large, the voluntary agencies, private industry and the majority of our political leaders, including some federal cabinet ministers, are unaware that the majority of our Native people are not receiving services. They believe that the Department of Indian Affairs with a budget of more than $300 million per year is doing the full job and in consequence they have little insight into the needs of the Metis and non-status groups.

Within the last two years there has been a significant development in the approach of the Federal Government towards Native people as a result of a mandate given the Secretary of State to bring about the participation of disadvantaged groups at all levels of Canadian society. For the first time Metis and non-status Indian organizations have been assisted by means of development grants to form and operate their own organizations on a solid financial footing. This capacity came about through your program of core funding and communications funding of Native organizations. The principle you established some months ago is one which we support. Your department provides the funds to all Native organizations whether Indian, Eskimo or Metis and extends it to Native womens' groups, Native communications associations, Native friendship centres and to citizen support groups without regard to the restrictive definitions used by DIAND. Indeed, we could cite examples of meetings called by the Department of Indian Affairs for "natives" where Metis and non-status Indians would not have been present if your department had not moved in and assisted our spokesmen to attend. We like and support your approach to Native problems in this country because it allows all Natives, whether Indian, Eskimo, status or Non-Status, half-breed or full-blood, to be treated as one people . . .

We have tried to make a case as to why we need from the federal authority a commitment to the proposition that the Native people of Canada, *all Native people,* need a consistent approach that will unite rather than divide us even further. This is being presented to you, the Secretary of State, because we, the Metis and non-status Indian people, feel we have no real voice of our own within the Cabinet and that the Minister of Indian Affairs has no mandate to speak for us. We look to you as the spokesman and guardian within the federal Cabinet of all disadvantaged groups in Canada and we believe that our condition within that category warrants your priority concern.

We look to the Secretary of State to be our sponsor in general matters that affect us as they do all other Canadians . . . We believe the Federal Government is sympathetic to our goals and we have reason to know that many ministers of the Crown show an active, co-operative, concerned attitude toward us and to our requests. We do not feel friendless in terms of the present Cabinet but we do feel the need for a "guardian angel".[17]

In 1979, the Native Council of Canada made the following statement about the relationship between the constitutional process and the goals of Metis and non-status Indians:

We are not an ethnic or immigrant group which leaves foreign countries to improve its life in Canada. We built a nation on this soil and were prepared to join Canada so as to build a larger and stronger nation. But we maintain the right to stay in or get out of Confederation. Our goal is to remain in Confederation but as an equal partner . . .

Only by participating as partners with the premiers of the provinces in the changes to the constitution can we hope to enshrine and clearly define our rights. Only then can we feel assured that these rights will be protected from those who wish to take them away from us by whatever means. We would be the first to support changes to the constitution of Canada but only if these changes benefit our people and we *must* be involved in the re-writing of a new constitution itself . . .

In order for us to take our rightful place in Canadian society we must be allowed to participate in the political process of the country . . . Our population is thinly spread across the country and without guaranteed representation we will not be able to elect our people to assemblies.

We must gain the right to represent ourselves in these assemblies if we are to preserve our identity as a distinct national group. What we are seeking and what we have always sought is a guarantee of a fixed number of seats for Native peoples in both federal and provincial legislative assemblies.

If we are to preserve and enrich our own Native identity and to contribute to the growth of a truly great Canadian identity we must have control of our destiny. Culture and identity are not things which can be preserved in a jar. They must grow if they are to survive. However, our culture and identity can grow only if we have control of those institutions through which we communicate with each other and to the rest of Canadian society, through which we educate ourselves and our children, and through which we express ourselves in art, beliefs and recreation.[18]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association endorsed the following recommendations:

[1] The constitution should recognize the existence of Indian, Inuit and Metis collectivities and their right to develop in accord with their own aspirations . . .

[2] Broad, realistic and equitable definitions of Indian, Inuit and Metis should be adopted for the purposes of the constitution and subsequent legislation in order to avoid the fragmentation of Native collectivities which has hitherto occurred. These definitions should include notions of . . . a descent from common ancestors . . . a common and continuous history . . . a form of social organization rooted in distinctive modes of economic enterprise . . .distinctive cultural attributes, values and willingness to identify as part of the Indian, Inuit or Metis collectivity . . .

[3] An accurate enumeration of Canada's Metis and non-status Indian population should be undertaken by Statistics Canada through the decennial census. A separate question for Native peoples should be included in the census and this should take into account the indigenous character of Native peoples . . .

[4] Non-status Indians should be fully involved in discussions leading to revision of the Indian Act . . .

[5] Those non-status Indians who reject registration under the Indian Act have the right to be considered Metis for the purposes of the constitution and subsequent legislation . . .

[6] Native peoples should be recognized as founding peoples in a preamble to the constitution . . .

[7] A new Section 33(3) should be added to the proposed Constitution Act which should provide Native peoples with the same right of enforceability through the courts that Canadians generally have in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms under Section 24 . . .

[8] A new Section 33(4) should be added to the proposed Constitution Act to make the Aboriginal rights provisions as applicable to the federal Parliament and provincial legislatures as is the Charter of Rights and Freedoms under Section 31 . . .

[9] A special amending formula should be adopted for those sections of the constitution which directly affect Aboriginal rights. This amending formula should . . . require the consent of the Native group or groups and support of Parliament for constitutional amendments affecting Aboriginal rights . . . apply not only to those specific provisions in the Constitution Act (Sections 25, 33, 35) which refer to Native peoples but also to all sources of Aboriginal rights which are included in the schedules to the Constitution Act . . . be incorporated as an addition to Section 33 of the Constitution Act which would become Section 33(5) . . .

[10] A joint committee of representatives of the federal government and Native peoples should be appointed during the two-year post-patriation period to identify and define the rights of Aboriginal peoples to be included in the Constitution of Canada . . .

[11] The constitution should confirm the jurisdiction of the federal Parliament over Metis and non-status Indians. Section 91(24) of the BNA Act should be amended to give the federal government jurisdiction over Indians, Inuit and Metis and lands reserved and to be reserved for the Indians, Inuit and Metis.

[12] The provincial governments should remain free to pass legislation in matters relating to Metis and non-status Indians as individual residents of a province only insofar as these laws do not alter the Aboriginal or collective rights of Native people.

[13] A Metis National Council should be established as the non-sovereign governing body of the national community of Metis and Non-Status Indians.

[14] This council should . . . consist of a fairly large number of members worked out by Native people themselves and set up by statute and these councillors should be elected at large from across Canada on the basis of regional and proportional representation . . . exercise powers vested in it by delegation from the federal government and the jurisdiction of the Metis National Council should be determined by federal statute . . . not be forced to take jurisdiction over matters for which it does not wish to be responsible, but in the areas where authority has been delegated the Metis Council should be given a free hand . . . assume responsibility for the provision of special social economic and cultural programs and services for Metis and non-status Indians.

[15] A separate secretariat attached to the Federal-Provincial Relations Office should be established by the federal government to coordinate federal policies towards Metis and non-status Indians and the Metis National Council . . .

[16] The constitution should guarantee Native representation in proportion to their numbers in the House of Commons after an accurate enumeration of the population by the decennial census . . . Until an accurate census is completed about five percent of the seats in the House of Commons should be reserved for Native peoples with due consideration for Atlantic and Northern Canada (14-18 seats) . . . A separate Native electoral role should be compiled and those entitled to register on this roll must meet normal electoral qualifications such as age, citizenship and residency and also identify as an Indian, Inuit or Metis . . . Native people should have the choice of opting for registration on either the general electoral roll or the Native electoral role but not both . . . Native electoral constituencies should be established across Canada and the number of Native seats should be redistributed at the time of general redistribution (after the decennial census) by a separate Electoral Boundary Commission . . . a voting system (i.e. list system or preferential system), should be worked out by negotiation between representatives of Native peoples and the Government of Canada . . .

[17] Similar constitutional guarantees for Native representation in provincial legislatures and territorial assemblies should be made . . .

[18] The constitution should guarantee the appointment of Native peoples to the Senate in proportion to their numbers.[19]

The following recommendations were also made in 1981, by the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian

Associations' Commission of Inquiry into Aboriginal Rights and the Constitution of Canada:

> [1] That immediate steps be taken to establish a new forum to provide effective participation of the Native peoples of Canada in the process of constitutional reform prior to the patriation of Canada's constitution and that a tri-partitite mechanism (federal/provincial/Native leadership) be established as the basis of that forum . . .
>
> [2] That a declaration be adopted by a specially convened meeting of the Prime Minister and the First Ministers of the provinces that the Native people of Canada are a founding people of the Dominion of Canada on a par with the French and English populations, and that such a declaration be included in the Constitution Act of 1981 prior to the patriation of the constitution . . .
>
> [3] That a declaration of principle be adopted by a specially convened meeting of the Prime Minister and the First Ministers of the provinces that a Native bill of rights be jointly developed in a tri-partite (federal/provincial/Native leadership) forum as the major mechanism for reference to Native people in the context of the Constitution Act of 1981, and that a Native bill of rights as adopted by the tri-partite forum be included in the Constitution Act of 1981 prior to the patriation of the constitution . . .
>
> [4] That the Cabinet Committee on Native Affairs of the Government of Ontario take upon itself the responsibility of initiating a consultative process in all federal/provincial constitutional forums which have, as its primary and specific purpose, the promotion, development, and realization of the constitutional aspirations of the Native people of Ontario as expressed by the OMNSIA Commission of Inquiry into Aboriginal Rights and the Constitution of Canada.[20]

In 1983, Mr. Michael McGuire, Secretary Treasurer of the Ontario Metis Association, read the following statement concerning self-government to Parliament's Special Committee on Indian Self-Government:

> In 1850 the Indians signed the Robinson Superior Treaty. At the signing of the treaty, half-breeds – Metis – were included. At the signing of Treaty No. 3, half-breeds were included. In fact, the half-breeds were a part of that treaty. Land was set aside for the Metis. The Robinson Huron Treaty half-breeds also formed a part of that treaty.
>
> I may be wrong, but I think in every treaty the Indians signed there was mention of half-breeds being included in the Indian treaties.
>
> Now, when the Indians talk about self-government, are the Metis going to be included again? I would also like to know what action the Indians are going to take on the following.
>
> 1. In Section 12(1)*(b)* of the Indian Act, an Indian woman loses her status by marrying a non-Indian.
> 2. In Section 110 of the Indian Act, Indians enfranchise to take on white status and then try to call themselves non-status Indians when they are no longer Indians. Under Section 110, Indians can enfranchise their children, even unborn children. This is wrong.
> 3. Indians get compensation for loss of natural food from pollution by pulp companies. Indian women who marry non-Indians lose their right to their natural foods, the right to hunt, fish, pick wild rice and live like an Indian. Is this going to be rectified by Indian government?
> 4. Are Indians going to do away with reserves and claim part of Ontario as a home base to form an Indian government?
> 5. From Kenora at the Manitoba border down Highway 17 to Nipigon, from Nipigon down Highway 11 to Cochrane, and from Cochrane to Moosonee, this land is to be set aside for the Indians; also part of the south of Ontario, where the Indians are now bargaining for land for the Indians to form a self-government. To form a government, Indians do need land.
> 6. Or are the Indians only asking to administer their reserves and call this self-government?
> 7. The Indian Act: this should be taken off Canadian law. This act discriminates against all Indians. This act gives Indians no human rights, no power of authority. Under the Indian Act, Indians are minors, with no right to leave a will, and this act is slowly killing off the Indians by assimilation.
> 8. The Metis can claim that they have preserved the Indian language, life-style, and culture. Some Metis are more Indian than the Indians on reserves. This came about when Metis married Indian women, and after three and four generations these Metis are again pure Indian. Are these Metis going to be part of the new Indian government?
> 9. If the Indians are going to go after self-government, they should represent all Native people, those who have lost their Indian status through marriage, enfranchisement, et cetera.[21]

Proposals to Preserve Metis and Non-Status Indians' Spiritual Values and Beliefs

In 1972, in a brief presented to the Secretary of State, the Native Council of Canada said that it was necessary to have Native representation on boards and councils concerned with promoting cross-cultural awareness.

> We note that all other segments of Canadian society, whether farmer or industrialist, westerner or easterner, Jew or Gentile, new Canadian or old, can see in the composition of the Senate and various government boards and councils a spokesman for their particular cause and a recognition of their contribution to the public life of the country. As Native people we want the composition of these boards and agencies to recognize and reflect us. Two weeks ago in Winnipeg, the Prime Minister announced the formation of a multi-cultural advisory council. We look to you to make sure that the Native people of this country are included in the roster of appointments to that council.[22]

In 1979, Mr. Marty Dunn, then assistant director of land claims research for the Ontario Metis and Non-

Status Indian Association, pointed out that it was important to consider the cultural, non-legal aspects of land claims in order to understand Native perceptions of reality.

The whole process quite apart from legalistic research is also developing a base that can be communicated to the Canadian people in terms of Native perceptions of reality – perceptions of land use and the general relationship. We must accept and understand that the conflict is not in terms of "give-me-got-you" but in terms of two peoples coming together while each group thinking in entirely different terms. It no more occurred to the Native people 200 years ago that they were surrendering land than it would be for a non-Native to surrender air. I think a main thrust of our claims research has to be impacted on Canadian consciousness as to the reality of the situation.

I believe that any type of claim that arises has a certain human component that is naturally part of it. By this I mean there is always room for judgements to be made on a human level that are quite outside the realm of the strict legal or political sense. In this respect, I think we will be providing another avenue of insight for the government in deciding whether or not we have a legitimate claim.[23]

In the same year Mr. Duke Redbird said:

It has always been my personal position, and I believe the position of people with insight into the British North America Act, that as Native people we were effectively left out. The government at that time did not want Ontario sitting between two Francophone provinces – as Manitoba was primarly French-speaking at the time. John A. Macdonald was determined to produce a WASPish confederation past Quebec. Today, we have a situation where the repatriation of the constitution has come about more to satisfy the French-Canadians than anyone else. It has been the federal government's position to decentralize as quickly as possible the responsibility for Metis people into the hands of the provincial governments. If the federal government was to introduce the notion that Native people are a founding member of confederation, then a whole new historical "mythology" would have to be created. We would have our Metis and Indian heros recognized with equal stature, along with Cartier, for example . . .

I think [too] that in Ontario, until fairly recently, the case has been that Metis people have never realized that as Metis they had a right to Aboriginal title. It was not something that was a popular idea; it was not part of the conventional wisdom of the time. It has only come about in the last while, along with the formation of OMNSIA and the Native Council of Canada. Our people in the past concentrated from being poor to becoming middle class in an attempt to get the amenities of middle class life such as adequate housing, education, employment and so on. Now with introducing the notion that we really have been denied our birthright in relation to the resources of the gross national product of this country, we finally realize that our motivations shouldn't simply be to improve our life in these terms but rather to improve our whole way of life and that of our children. It is through our birthright and heritage that we will become part of the fabric of Canadian life; we have a great role to play in Canada which is more than simply improving our material status.[24]

In 1981, the Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association endorsed the following recommendations concerning education and cultural development:

[1] Education authorities in the provinces and territories should promote the study of Native history, languages and culture in the school system . . .

[2] The federal government and provincial governments should encourage the expansion of Native-run educational institutes such as the Gabriel Dumont Institute in Saskatchewan which should establish programs for curriculum development, Native and non-Native teacher education, community education and research into Native history and culture, among other things . . .

[3] The development of Native studies programs in universities across Canada should be encouraged and assisted . . .

[4] The subtle forms of discrimination against Native people which exist in law should be recognized and steps should be taken to protect Native cultural values and traditional ways of life . . .

[5] The constitution should recognize the Aboriginal heritage of Canada and Native culture as an integral part of the national culture.[25]

Summary

The proposals contained in this chapter to preserve the integrity of Metis and non-status Indians' social organization, economic organization, arts and media, political organization, and spiritual values and beliefs include the following:

Social Organization

a) Increase financial assistance for Metis and non-status Indian students.
b) Allow Native people to control their own system of education.
c) Establish a justice system oriented to Native values.
d) Allow Native people to participate fully in the design and delivery of child welfare services.

Economic Organization

a) Increase financial support for economic development among Metis and non-status Indian people.
b) Allow Native people to participate as full partners in resource development projects.
c) Establish constitutional guarantees for a land base, hunting and fishing rights, and equalization payments for Metis and non-status Indian people.
d) Protect Native people from pollution and potentially harmful impacts of northern development.

Arts and Media

a) Increase financial support for Native artists and craftspeople.
b) Allow Native people to be represented on boards and agencies such as the CBC and the CRTC.
c) Allow Native people to have more control over their

own cultural-educational centres and make them independent of the Department of Indian Affairs.

d) Promote Native arts to a greater extent.

e) Allow Native people to have their own independent Native communications systems.

Political Organization

a) Protect Metis and non-status Indian people from discrimination in the Indian Act and by the Department of Indian Affairs.

b) Allow Metis and non-status Indian people to participate fully in constitutional discussions and the constitutional process.

c) Establish constitutional guarantees for Native representation in Parliament.

Spiritual Values and Beliefs

a) Have Native representatives on boards and agencies concerned with promoting cross-cultural awareness.

b) Place more emphasis on Metis and non-status Indian land claims as a cultural process.

c) Respect Aboriginal rights of Metis and non-status Indian people.

d) Allow Native people to develop more Native cultural awareness programs.

6. Native People in Urban Areas

Although the majority of Canadian Indians do not reside in urban areas – more than 30 percent were living in reserves in 1979 – during the past twenty years the number living in cities and towns has increased substantially.[1] Nationally, there were about 77,000 Indian people living off-reserve in 1976; about 35,000 more than in 1966.[2] According to a recent survey conducted by the Department of Indian Affairs, "in Ontario . . . the largest concentration . . . of off-reserve Indians . . . [is] in Toronto [where, together with Metis and Non-Status Indians, they number about 20,000]."[3] The survey also indicated that there were visible concentrations of Native people "in . . . towns such as Kenora, Sault Ste. Marie [1,505] and Sioux Lookout"[4] but that, in the future, "the proportion of Indians living off reserve . . . [in Ontario may] decline slightly . . ."[5]

Of course, Native people who live in cities and towns have their own needs and aspirations. For instance, in 1969, Mr. Joseph Wampemoose said that non-Natives should try to understand the changes that Native people experience when they come to the city.

> Where once the Indian roamed, the factories, farms, and dwellings of a European horde block free passage. We are dispossessed of our ancient ways and faced with life in a city . . .
>
> We know that we can't turn back the clock. We know that we can't live for long in a wilderness that is fast being ransacked of fish and fur to feed and clothe the luxury-minded dwellers of the city. So, we too must enter the confines of the city and try as best we might to make our way.
>
> But, understand, oh white man; understand, lovely lady dressed in fur! It is hard, very hard to bear the crime-filled streets and the liquor-selling bars where once was only peaceful grass and sobriety. We understand that we must change – and we are changing – but remember; it once was our land, our life, and it is hard.[6]

In the same year, Mr. Victor Pelletier, an Indian from northern Ontario who was then Program Director for the Indian Centre of Toronto, made the following comment:

> On the reserve people have never had a boss; nobody has ever told them how many furs to trap, how much wood to cut. So it's more than simple adjustment when a man gets a job on an assembly line. It's a new, upside-down way of life. A man gets very discouraged, very depressed.
>
> And there are the girls. Every day you see them getting off the bus. And the sharpies are down there to meet them. They make a career of it. "You new here?", they say. "Could I take you out for breakfast?" Well these kids don't know what's going on. Inside of six weeks they've become prostitutes. Short of having someone meet every bus that comes to town I don't know what to do about it.[7]

In 1973, the Ontario Federation of Friendship Centres brought forward a position paper that contained the following observations:

> The Friendship Centres have realized their shortcomings for years. When people come to the Centre and we define with them their problems we realize that if some mechanism for providing information to people before they leave the reserve or rural settlement had been available many of their problems could have been averted. The Friendship Centres are unable to provide that mechanism because their work is concentrated in urban settings.
>
> We have been struggling for years to overcome these shortcomings and have made much progress. Recognition of this progress can be witnessed by the new funding levels for Friendship Centres which will enable us to implement programs that will have further reaching consequences. Having overcome many of these difficulties through years of trial and error, we feel we have a definite role to play in comprehensive programs which will alleviate much of the pain and suffering resulting from the movement of Native people. It is imperative, therefore, that each organization concerned should define the role they will play in the total migration picture . . .
>
> One person should be delegated in each community to advise people, including students, on some of the problems that will be encountered in the city. This person should have at his disposal a list of contacts in the city that he can refer the migrant to, as well as a way of communicating with the contact before the migrant leaves so that someone will be able to receive him and help him in getting established. From time to time arrangements can be made for a Centre representative to visit students and explain urban culture and how the Native culture creates conflicting situations when the two shall meet.
>
> The question of who should do this work on the reserve and in the rural community is for each community to answer. One suggestion is for the Band administrator on each reserve to undertake this if they are not already overburdened with work. The Band in some way must address itself to the problems of those people who leave the reserve. In Metis communities, a local group leader could undertake this task. In any case, whoever does this work should undertake it in a manner so as not to encourage mass migration. Leaving the reserve or community must not be advocated as the way to solve general problems such

as housing, education, and employment; these are solved by more houses, better schools, job opportunities, etc. – not by encouraging migration. The Federation of Friendship Centres is prepared to supply suitable information for use by the local advisor.

As persons or families move to the city there has to be a place where they can be received or met. The Friendship Centre is usually ideally suited for this purpose. The first step in the process having been completed as outlined above there should now be communication with the Friendship Centre clarifying whether the person or family will come to the Centre or whether an address should be given to the Centre so that a worker can go and visit the family as soon as possible following the relocation.

Having made the initial contact, the Centre can then help the family with any problems that may arise, explain to them the intricacies of urban living, refer them to the proper agency for more specialized help, or acquaint them with some of the programs available within the city and from the Friendship Centre itself . . .

Simply to receive people when they move to the city is not in itself an answer to the problem. Adjusting to an urban environment and life style is an extremely difficult and slow process. Consequently there is a need to provide some programs which will help people in this process or else they will become discouraged and disillusioned and either turn to drink or deviant behaviour or return to the rural community in despair. How these support programs are provided depends to a large extent on the size of the community. Most, if not all, Friendship Centres, already provide these support programs, depending on volunteers, staff and local facilities. Some Centres provide them by utilizing other resources in the community (arenas, bowling alleys, gyms), while others have facilities available within the Centre (hall, auditorium, gym, day-care). We are not saying that one way is better than the other; the important thing is that these programs are being provided in the most feasible manner. One point to remember with regard to these support programs is that they contain all the elements necessary to accomplish the Centres' objectives: information or knowledge, recreation, cultural awareness or self-identity and community development or self-help . . .

[It must be remembered though, that t]he only reason that people migrate to larger centres is because their needs are not being met in their own localities. Employment needs force many people to leave their community. A "comprehensive migration system" can only increase this migration, which is already occurring at an alarming rate. It appears to us, then, that much time and energy must be given to the development of economic development programs on the reserves and rural communities.[8]

In 1974, Dr. Mark Nagler published a study on the Native people in Toronto.[9] The following excerpts from Dr. Nagler's book are commentaries by the Native people he interviewed concerning migration, discrimination, friendship, education, employment, Friendship Centres, and Native identity:

[Migration]

I came to Toronto [from the Six Nations Indian Reserve] for two reasons. Everybody was going, and number two, I wanted to obtain an education and work. It seems that all the people my age were leaving home. My parents did not want me to go to the city, and as a matter of fact they told me that I would get into trouble. When I married Peter (a white man) they were convinced that [what] they had always maintained would happen, had happened.[10]

[Discrimination]

It is my impression that Indians [such as myself from northwestern Ontario] come into contact with discriminatory practices more frequently in smaller communities . . . As you know, many Indians from reserve centres are undereducated . . . and are unable to adjust to any situation in the city. In small towns Indians frequently cause trouble. And much of the discrimination which they experience is a result of their ineptitude which is reinforced by the experiences that many non-Indians have with Indians in a community . . .

In a larger city such as Toronto many Indians do not experience these attitudes from whites because many employers and other people who come into contact with Indians in such centres as Toronto have never met Indians; as you know there is a tendency among Canadians to be prejudice-free and unbiased.[11]

[Friendship]

I have been living in Toronto for . . . [fifteen years] and I have had this job for fifteen years. I make a good living and live well. Unfortunately I do not have many Indian friends. This is because of a number of factors. I came here and did well. My friends from the north heard that I had been successful, and then they began coming to Toronto and the first thing they would do would be look me up. They would expect money and room and board. They also expected that I would endeavour to find them work. My salary is good, but particularly in the early years it was limited in view of the fact that I had a wife and family. I discovered that my only alternative, if I desired to remain in the city, was to keep away from these people . . . Most city friends soon discover that here in the city you cannot look after everybody. Because if we can't and don't we become white men to our former Indian acquaintances.[12]

[Education]

[I]n the early grades I went to a school on [Manitoulin] Island . . . Those of us who went on to obtain more school had to attend regularly on the mainland. Many Indians do not care about schooling, and the reserve school, at least from what I know, does not help us very much. When we were bussed into the city the teachers were better, the schools were really nice and we learned how to get along with people who were not Indian . . . I realize what the purpose of schooling is and that we cannot do too much without it but the Indians, at least a lot of them who I know, just think it is something that they make us do.[13]

[Employment]

I have worked here for a few days (car wash). I have been a bus boy for a coffee shop on Yonge Street. The jobs I have do not last long. I need training but I am too old. In the winter it is too cold to work as a bus boy, and I think it is too cold now to be washing cars. In the jobs I get they don't keep you too long if they think they have better

people. I have friends who used to work on the boats and in the canneries, but they are not needed now. The Indian to be sure I think must go back to his home (reserve).[14] [Friendship Centres]

The Indian Friendship Centre is for Indians just coming into the city who need help. We have no time to help these people as we have our own responsibilities, and we are not members because they do not need us. You only join a group when you need them and they need you.[15] [Native Identity]

It really doesn't matter whether you are an Indian or not. There are those who cry because they are Indian, and not getting anywhere. They are not getting anywhere because they are lazy or because they just don't know how. Then there are other guys like that – on the stage. He really enjoys being an Indian, and he really thinks he is God's gift. The ones you call adjusted I guess are like me. I don't care. I do my work. I am what I am, that's what everybody should be.[16]

In 1977, the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto made the following comment about the identity of Native people in urban areas to the Task Force on Canadian Unity:

In the English language we do not even know what to call ourselves . . . but in our own language we know that we are the Anicinabe, the Inuit, the Dene, the Ininew; all meaning 'human beings' or 'people of the land.' No one will take that away from us.[17]

In 1980, Mr. Al Chrisjohn wrote:

Look at our reserves, or, if you will, our homelands. We can see that although people come and go, there has been a general migration away from the reserve. The major reason behind this large population movement is economics. Our reserves simply no longer provide the jobs necessary to prevent the exodus . . .

As Indian governments we must begin to examine ourselves and ask what we can do for our citizens *wherever they may live.* These people are not wretched refuse. They are our mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, brothers and sisters. They are Indian citizens of Indian nations.[18]

Also in 1980, Mr. Roger Obonsawin, who was then Executive Director of the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto, said that competition for funds between Native organizations representing rural and urban people was harmful and should be eliminated.

I refer specifically to the "Reserve Indians" vs. "Urban Indians" and "Metis or Non-Status Indians."

We are all painfully aware of these conflicts and yet are not talking openly about them . . . We have an opportunity here in Ontario more than anywhere in North America to heal those differences before it is too late. We should put aside the question of competition for funds and begin to realistically devise ways of coming closer together as brothers and sisters which we are. Through this process we will build a strong self-sufficient Nation that is much less reliant on government grants and handouts, a system that can only serve to increase our conflicts. We must therefore, first of all put aside our fears that we are competing for funds since through united action we can both increase these sources of funds while lessening our dependency on them. We must secondly establish a forum where we can talk to each other as Indians, not as wards of the federal government. We must finally recognize the fact that we can have our philosophical differences but that through internal discussions these differences can be set aside when we talk to governments.[19]

In 1981, the Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting made the following recommendations about cultural awareness, education, discrimination, recreation, women's needs, employment, housing, alcohol abuse, health and nutrition, children and family needs, youth, justice, and senior citizens:

1. Set up a drum group.
2. Form local women's group to share cultures and solve problems.
3. Get involved in the Windsor Multicultural Centre.
4. Get Native elders involved in teaching group . . .
5. Write and perform a theatrical play focusing on Native life style.
6. Set up cross-cultural programs with several tribes.
7. Have more Native gatherings (from a city without a friendship centre).
8. Have traditional Native activities (e.g. powwows).
9. Have cultural gatherings in the wilderness.
10. Get a newsletter going to let people know of Native events (a very strong sentiment in Windsor).
11. (Reactivate MNSIA local or) start other Native culture and rights organization.
12. Get Native elders involved in teaching young.
13. Get elders to teach classes in Native culture.
14. Get elders actively sharing talents in the community.
15. Develop courses in Native language instruction.
16. Teach treaty history, trapping, fishing, wild rice production.
17. Younger people should learn their language and learn about traditional ways of life.
18. Set up a network for obtaining traditional Native food and supplies.
19. Set up a Native food co-op (supply food at discount prices) and also supply a place to buy traditional Indian food and supplies.
20. Give a workshop for cultural awareness open to the public.
21. Set up public Native awareness programs. Show films on Native culture, issues, etc., and invite guest speakers, e.g. Xavier Michon, Richard Lyons.
22. Set up a powwow for the summer and invite the whole community and tourists . . .
23. Spread cultural awareness through the school system with local Native people doing displays . . .
24. Have heritage programs; for example, the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College's program.
25. Arrange for films to be made by Natives . . .
26. Windsor should have a friendship centre for cultural purposes and for social services.

27. A special Native Awareness Day throughout the whole educational system to promote cultural awareness about Native history, culture, etc. . . .
28. [The Native centre should o]ffer courses on old ways and on other Native nations.
29. [The Native centre should h]ave evening and weekend programs in Native culture.
30. [The Native centre should a]rrange for young people to visit elders.
31. [The Native centre should h]ave a homemaker's course to teach traditional cooking.
32. [The Native centre should h]ave more dances.
33. [The Native centre should h]ave community programs for non-Natives . . .
34. Do a Native Studies project in high school if a course is not available . . .
35. Native people need to come together as a community to articulate what they really want for the education of their children and to consider more long-term educational goals for Native people (north central city) . . . [Also, t]he Native community should look at common (educational) needs and look for solutions; the government has a way of throwing up obstacles to divide the people and then nothing gets done (northwestern city).
36. Form Native clubs in schools.
37. Establish a study hall centre for Native students.
38. A Native students' council at college could encourage people not to drop out as they would have a place to get together to do things.
39. Use parents as resources in schools; Native oral teaching hasn't been emphasized enough . . .
40. Form local Native educational councils to liaise with school board.
41. Have Native input to schools.
42. Get involved in school book writing.
43. The issue of racism should be confronted. "The teachers and students should be reminded each school term of equality."
44. Hold seminars on traditional Native teachings for teachers.
45. Invite non-Native teachers to the reserves to see what reserve life is like so that they can understand their Native students . . .
46. Organize a list of students who are interested in helping other students and post it at the friendship centre.
47. In large cities, have a central source of information (or catalogue system) about courses and Native people who have gone through them.
48. Have a place where people can get information ahead of time.
49. Have a resource catalogue for funding people going to schools, particularly for short courses . . .
50. Have a Native way school in Hamilton.
51. Have a Native parent counsellor for parents of elementary age-students.
52. School counselling should be built on Native values, using Native counsellors and, perhaps, traditionally-oriented elders to give encouragement and illustrations of Indian values and use of Native language.
53. A board made up of members of the Native community should be established to liaise with the board of education and the Canada Employment Centre, to discuss a curriculum oriented towards jobs, through monthly or bimonthly meetings . . .
54. There is a basic human right to educate Native children by Native people. Native people need to approach the Ontario government as a lobbying force (as English and French parents have) for Native studies and Native schools.
55. Make a systematic attack on discrimination and a positive assertion of Native identity needs at the primary school level.
56. Native organizations should demand longer representation on the board of education; one person in a token position has no effect.
57. Wawatay is working with the English department in the secondary school to develop a special journalism course for Native students; it is part of their English course. Students then act as reporters from the reserve during the summer, sending material to Wawatay newspaper . . .
58. Teach Ojibway in schools.
59. Secondary school should run a crash remedial and orientation program for Native kids coming from reserves to town (e.g. 6 – 8 weeks in July and August) . . .

[60] Demand from Ministry of Education that Ojibway and other languages be taught in secondary schools . . .

[61] Press for Native control of a secondary school in northwestern Ontario, like Prairie Indian Survival School in Alberta . . .

[62] When one woman's son was being harassed at school, she went to his class and talked about what and who Natives are; the problem went away after that . . .

[63] Have social functions and street patrols as ways of fighting prejudice and discrimination . . .

[64] "Windsor Committee in Support of Native Concerns" should work hand-in-hand with non-Natives to develop sensitivity towards Native people . . .

[65] Participants in a recreation program could aid the staff and thereby contribute to the program . . .

[66] Encourage Native competition in sports as a way of getting fit and feeling pride.

[67] As a group, the Native community should investigate and use existing recreational facilities to get better programs.

[68] We need Native representation on town recreation committee.

[69] People should raise money so that youth in low-income families can participate in sports.

[70] Hold community meetings to organize:
a) singalongs, music, song and dance evenings;
b) box social dances;
c) drawings, painting evenings;
d) sewing;
e) music lessons (guitar);
f) bingo . . .

[71] Native centres need gyms.

[72] Single mothers could get together and talk about their problems and make themselves feel better . . .
[73] Working mothers with children in school could pay other women to give lunch and look after them after school . . .
[74] Have a hotline for women who need to talk to someone sympathetic about problems . . .
[75] Have single parents and children go on outings and have discussions . . .
[76] Form a single-mother association . . .
[77] A self-help program in one town includes a mix of handicraft production, family life skills and counselling . . .
[78] Have group meetings of women who gather weekly to "hear other problems", "compare solutions", and give a chance for women "simply to have someone to talk to". This a grass-roots organization not dependent on outside funding, and responsible only to the needs of Native women . . .
[79] Native women wish to be self-sufficient and self-reliant – sponsorship of Native information and counselling service; joint involvement on such a project from committees made up of local and provincial organizations . . .
[80] Native women's centres should offer the following
a) budgeting with individualized financial counselling; the courses should give advice on and monitor household financial management and personal savings;
b) a sewing program with courses and a sewing room with machines for women who don't have their own. . .
[81] Native people must decide what they need in the way of adult education and retraining . . .
[82] Native people should get together and organize own jobs and industries . . .
[83] Native community has to organize and assume responsibility for developing alternatives to welfare . . .
[84] Organize Native crafts production and co-operative sales (possible outgrowth from craft nights initially) as a recreational activity . . .
[85] People in the area should get together to form their own contracting company to repair their own houses . . .
[86] People might hold a meeting, invite officials to attend, and see if adult retraining could be started (small northwestern town) . . .
[87] Need session on how to use Manpower counselling so something can be got out of it (large southern city) . . .
[88] Form a new group to push for better housing and employment conditions for Native people on farms (fruit pickers) . . .
[89] Organize Native-controlled industry:
a) charcoal pellet (briquet) production,
b) railway tie production,
c) Native-run motel,
d) homesteading,
e) trout farming,
f) Native food such as rabbits . . .
[90] Native people must design and implement their own retraining program (large city) . . .
[91] Native association employment counsellors shall open up access to the larger services available . . .
[92] Hold a large public meeting in the fall to discuss housing and develop more detailed plans for a housing corporation . . .
[93] Write a letter to OHC and ask them how they use their waiting list as it always seems so unfair . . .
[94] Hold housing seminars using those Native people and Native organizations most skilled in the housing area . . .
[95] Write to CMHC and ask about unoccupied units in nearby town . . .
[96] Organize new OMNSIA local programs . . .
[97] Organize co-operative housing including itinerant housing.
[98] Have a Native housing corporation, run by Native housing committee and employing Native contracters and builders . . .
[99] Develop the position of Native Placement Officers to handle housing and related problems . . .
[100] Native organizations should make an independent study of the housing situation and work together on a proposal to improve the situations . . .
[101] OMNSIA should develop a house-rental program . . .
[102] Mobilize Native organizations to bring pressure to bear on the Ministry of Natural Resources for release of land for house building . . .
[103] Get more attention from OMNSIA, especially concerning housing . . .
[104] Lobby province to end municipal residence requirements now that province is picking up 7½ per cent of municipality's housing financing . . .
[105] Contact MPP and fill him on the OHC problem and then get the ball moving for having more units built . . .
[106] Organize Native Alcoholics Anonymous based on Native spirituality and Native foods . . .
[107] Have an AA on every reserve . . .
[108] Set up a detox centre and sweat lodge; many empty buildings in towns could be used . . .
[109] Have street counselling for alcohol abusers including informing people about available services . . .
[110] Canadian Native Indian Committee on Alcoholism should have workshop on alcohol and drug abuse . . .
[111] Get health and nutrition information on "moccasin telegraph" . . .
[112] Have Native self-helpers groups and services in health and nutrition . . .
[113] Organize workshops on nutrition and good food buys . . .
[114] Put together a program on herbal medicine . . .
[115] Friendship centre should organize nutrition and diet supplementation clinics . . .
[116] Friendship centre could provide sponsorship for the following information programs if they were provided with trained staff:
a) personal health-care practices – the need to know, and what to do, about being mentally, physically and spiritually fit;

b) good eating habits to prevent disease and toothache;
c) birth control – prevents depression and unplanned parenthood.

[117] Band councils should get funding for training programs for Native assistant teams in hospitals . . .
[118] There should be collaboration among three local Native organizations to form a committeee which will undertake meetings with doctors and hospital staff to discuss the various problems and propose solutions . . .
[119] OMNSIA should work with Ministry of Health and Welfare to train nurses to deal with Native people . . .
[120] Have family-life education . . .
[121] Have home "block parents" for children . . .
[122] Li'l Beavers program should be offered for girls as well as boys . . .
[123] Big Brothers and Big Sisters organization for Native children . . .
[124] Publicize the need for Native foster homes . . .
[125] Provide Native input to Children's Aid Society . . .
[126] Organize a hotline for youth . . .
[127] Have Native families come together to discuss and deal with the problem of juvenile delinquency . . .
[128] Organize alcohol-education programs for young people, including peer group counselling . . .
[129] All teen dances should be closely supervised and *dry* . . .
[130] Organize family-planning clinics to advise young girls on birth control . . .
[131] Organize workshops for young people in budgeting and first aid . . .
[132] Native Centre should have a program for youth similar to the programs it has for children (Li'l Beavers) and elders . . .
[133] ONWA should have a youth program for teens . . .
[134] Judges, lawyers, court personnel should be invited to talk with Natives outside the courtroom to get a better understanding of the Native way of life . . .
[135] Have a program designed to present information workshops on the law in remote northern communities in layman's terms (also suggested in larger southern city) . . .
[136] Have a volunteer network of Native ex-inmates working through a Native organization to help counsel people encountering the justice system . . .
[137] Band offices and friendship centres should approach legal aid to carry out public education about its services through them . . .
[138] At the Ontario Native Court and Counselling Services, add the staff positions of three regional supervisors/co-ordinators providing professional legal guidance and direction, and one staff person dealing solely with administration . . .
[139] Ontario Native Council on Justice should be controlled by Natives . . .
[140] Native groups should approach MPs and demand that justice system quit discrimination . . .
[141] Push for a Native inmate liaison worker to facilitate inmate self-help and arrange employment and parole advocacy . . .
[142] Native centre should have a program for senior citizens; it should include many social and recreational activities such as bowling, cards, crafts and homemakers' service for the sick . . .
[143] Pursue the government and city for a Native volunteer homemakers' service for the sick and elderly . . .
[144] Hold elders' luncheons at Indian Centre . . .
[145] Senior citizens should start a club for teaching young . . .
[146] Adjustment to the city; pre-migration orientation . . .
[147] Native volunteer systems . . .
[148] Volunteer counselling . . .
[149] Put people in touch with information systems; a provincial Native hotline . . .
[150] The community should meet with agency people and politicians to discuss problems and solutions . . .
[151] Local Native organizations should become more unified. (This suggestion comes from all parts of the province) . . .
[152] Native Centre should offer money management courses . . .
[153] Pressure government to offer benefits to all Native people, not just status . . .[20]

Summary

According to the statements contained in this chapter, Native people say that they would be able to cope with the urban environment in a more effective way:

a) if non-Natives had a better understanding of the social and economic circumstances of Native people in urban areas;
b) if Native people intending to migrate to urban areas from reserves or rural communities were offered pre-migration orientation programs;
c) if Native organizations did more to lobby for the needs of Native people in urban areas; and
d) if Native organizations, governments, and politicians did more to design and deliver programs that promote cultural awareness, improve education, reduce discrimination, provide recreation, meet the needs of Native women, increase employment, improve housing, curtail alcohol and drug abuse, promote health and nutrition, meet the needs of children, youth, senior citizens, and families, and eliminate cultural bias in the administration of justice.

Notes

Introduction and Summary

[1] Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture *Aboriginal Culture Terms of Reference* [1]
[2] Ibid

Chapter One

[1] Wright *Ontario Prehistory* 11
[2] Dawson *Prehistory of Northern Ontario* 4-7
[3] Wright *op cit* 27
[4] Ibid 36
[5] Willey and Phillips *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* 118
[6] Trigger *The Huron* 13
[7] Molto *Biological Relationships of Southern Ontario Woodland Peoples* 36
[8] Morris *Indians of Ontario* 11
[9] Rogers *Iroquoians of the Eastern Woodlands* 6
[10] Ibid
[11] A phratry consists of two or more clans linked by kinship and common interests. Schusky *A Manual for Kinship Analysis* 78
[12] Trigger *op cit* 42
[13] See Otterbain "Why the Iroquois Won: An Analysis of Iroquois Military Tactics"
[14] Graham *Medicine Man to Missionary* 7
[15] MacLean *Indians, Inuit, and Metis of Canada* 46
[16] Henderson *Canada's Indian Reserves: Pre-Confederation* 8-16
[17] Moore *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* 33-50
[18] Rogers *op cit* 16
[19] For more information about the history of these reserves see Graham *op cit*
[20] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence 1979* 14-25
[21] Ibid
[22] Rogers *Algonkians of the Eastern Woodlands* 3
[23] Jenness *The Indians of Canada* 277
[24] Ibid
[25] Rogers *op cit* 7-8
[26] Rogers "Cultural Adaptations: The Northern Ojibwa of the Boreal Forest 1670-1980" 107
[27] Driben and Trudeau *When Freedom is Lost* 14
[28] Ibid 18
[29] Ray *Indians in the Fur Trade* 61-70
[30] Bishop "The Emergence of Hunting Territories Among the Northern Ojibwa" 3
[31] Morris *op cit* 15 ff
[32] See Brown and Maguire *Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective* passim
[33] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *op cit* 14-31
[34] Rogers *op cit* 126
[35] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *OMNSIA* 1
[36] See MacLeod and Morton *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown*
[37] See Bowsfield *Louis Riel*
[38] See Woodcock *Gabriel Dumont*
[39] Long *Treaty No. 9: The Halfbreed Question 1902-1910* [ii]
[40] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Boron Reports Transcript* 148
[41] Ibid 148-49
[42] McNab "Hearty Co-operation and Efficient Aid, The Metis and Treaty No. 3" 131
[43] See Long *op cit*
[44] Ibid
[45] Canada *An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*
[46] See Canada *An Act to Repeal in Part and to Amend an Act, Intituled, An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*
[47] Canada *An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province and to Amend the Laws Respecting Indians*
[48] Canada *An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Repecting Indians*
[49] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *Annual Review, 1981-82* 14
[50] Supply and Services Canada *The Canadian Constitution 1981: A Resolution Adopted by the Parliament of Canada, December, 1981* 11

Chapter Two

[1] Quoted in Petrone *First People, First Voices* 13
[2] Ibid 37
[3] Quoted in Bowles et al (eds) *The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation?* 44-45
[4] Quoted in Waubageshig (ed) *The Only Good Indian* 57-59
[5] Chrisjohn "We are many Nations" 50
[6] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 26
[7] Copway *Recollections of a Forest Life* 10-12
[8] Anonymous "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 12 (1980) 25
[9] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 130-33
[10] Royal Commission on the Northern Environment *Issues Report* 50
[11] Andres "The Apprehension of Native Children" 36
[12] Hatt "History, Social Structure, and Life Cycle of Beaver Metis Colony" 20
[13] See Stewart "Cart-using Indians of the American Plains"
[14] Ouimet *La Verite sur la Question Metisse au Nord-Ouest* 77-78

[15] Task Force on Canadian Unity *A Time to Speak, The Views of the Public* 30-32
[16] Ibid 32
[17] Native Council of Canada *A Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights* 2
[18] Redbird *We are Metis* 2-3
[19] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *OMNSIA* 1
[20] Ibid
[21] Ibid
[22] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Special Editions* 9 no 3 (1981) 7

Chapter Three

[1] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 38
[2] Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians *Position Paper* 27 ff
[3] National Indian Brotherhood *Indian Control of Indian Education*
[4] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 59-60
[5] Chiefs of Ontario *Annual Report 1977* 5
[6] Sams "Indian Children" 40-41. See also Johnston *Native Children and the Child Welfare System*
[7] Supply and Services Canada *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 16 A:16-18
[8] Petrone *op cit* 22-23
[9] Union of Ontario Indians *Brief on Changes in the Indian Act* 4
[10] Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians *op cit* 20-21
[11] Chiefs of Ontario *op cit* 4-5
[12] Supply and Services Canada *op cit* A:5-8
[13] Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples *Summary Report of the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples of Ontario* 29 ff
[14] Ibid
[15] Anonymous "An Artist who is Indian" 10
[16] Quoted in Loft "In need of an Indian Film" 7-8
[17] Anonymous "Under the Shell of the Turtle" 30+
[18] Supply and Services Canada *Indian Self-Government in Canada: Report of the Special Committee* 13
[19] Anonymous "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 11 (1980) 34-38
[20] Anonymous "Canada: You're Killing us with Kindness" 21-25
[21] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *Indian Conditions: A Survey* 92
[22] Union of Ontario Indians *op cit* 2
[23] Chiefs of Ontario *op cit* 4-6
[24] Anonymous "Put Yer Money" 29
[25] Cornelius "Caution Urged on O.R.L.C." 4
[26] Supply and Services Canada *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 16 A:4
[27] Anonymous "Thoughts of Peace – The Great Law" 55
[28] Young *Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Campfires*
[29] Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians *op cit* 49 ff
[30] Chiefs of Ontario *op cit* 6
[31] Anonymous "Results of the Consultation Process" 6-12

Chapter Four

[1] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 79
[2] Jackson *My 50 Years Experience with the Indian Problem and the Indian Department* 9
[3] Ibid 2
[4] Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples *op cit* 36-40
[5] Anonymous "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 11 (1979) 22
[6] Supply and Services Canada *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 4 71
[7] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 78
[8] Anonymous "Ft. William Petition" 13
[9] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 171
[10] Rickard *Basic Issues and Priorities of Grand Council Treaty Nine* 17-18
[11] Royal Commission on the Northern Environment *Issues Report* 248
[12] Anonymous "Statement of Policy: Indian Rights of Hunting, Fishing, Trapping and Gathering" 9-10
[13] Nishnawbe-Aski Nation *Brief to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Prospects for Canada* 294-97
[14] Anonymous "Indian Art Treasure" 39
[15] Quoted in Anonymous "The Algonquins" 55
[16] Quoted in Bickley "It's a Festival Folks" 7-8
[17] George "Wanted: Indian Writers" 58
[18] Keeshig-Tobias "Re: Wanted Indian Writers" 4
[19] Angeconeb "Wa-Wa-Ta" 16-17
[20] Wesley "Heads in the Sand" 10
[21] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 58
[22] Anonymous "A History of the Union of Ontario Indians" 34
[23] Anonymous "Canada: You're Killing us with Kindness" 24
[24] Jackson *op cit* 7
[25] Quoted in Bowles *op cit* 94
[26] Quoted in Petrone *op cit* 174
[27] Royal Commission on the Northern Environment *op cit* 250
[28] Ibid
[29] Supply and Services Canada *op cit* 45-46
[30] Quoted in Bowles *op cit* 24-26
[31] Ibid 97-99
[32] Quoted in Burke *Paper Tomahawks* 394-95
[33] Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples *op cit* 30

Chapter Five

[1] Ibid 25-26
[2] Native Council of Canada *A Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights* 16
[3] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *OMNSIA* 10-11
[4] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Special Editions* 9 no 3 (1981) 14-15
[5] Mercredi and Chartier "The Status of Child Welfare

Services for the Indigenous Peoples of Canada: The Problem, the Law and the Solution" 173-74
[6] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 147
[7] Native Council of Canada *A Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights* 10
[8] Ibid 12
[9] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *op cit* 16
[10] Ontario Metis Association "Native Resource Management: West Patricia Land Use Plan, a Metis Perspective" 10
[11] Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat *First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters* (verbatim transcript, unverified and unofficial) 122-23
[12] See OMNSIA *Special Editions* 9 no 2 (1981) and OMNSIA *Special Editions* 9 no 4 (1981)
[13] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 151-54
[14] Campbell "Our Culture must be Allowed to Survive" 8
[15] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Special Editions* 9 no 3 (1981) 15-16
[16] LaFontaine "Politics and Propaganda" 13
[17] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 146-51
[18] Native Council of Canada *A Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights* 6-14
[19] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *op cit* 14-15
[20] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Special Editions* 9 no 5 (1981) 58-60
[21] Supply and Services Canada *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 4 76-77
[22] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 152
[23] Quoted in Daniels *The Forgotten People: Metis and non-status Indian Land Claims* 45
[24] Ibid 47
[25] Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Special Editions* 9 no 3 (1981) 16

Chapter Six

[1] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *Indian Conditions: A Survey* 134
[2] Ibid
[3] Ibid 136
[4] Ibid 137
[5] Ibid 135
[6] Quoted in Herstein et al *Challenge and Survival* 27
[7] Quoted in Bowles *op cit* 54
[8] Quoted in Waubageshig *op cit* 190-94
[9] Nagler *Indians in the City.* See also Krotz *Urban Indians*
[10] Quoted in Nagler *op cit* 9
[11] Ibid 13
[12] Ibid 21
[13] Ibid 30
[14] Ibid 49
[15] Ibid 73
[16] Ibid 82
[17] Task Force on Canadian Unity *op cit* 36
[18] Chrisjohn "The Indian in Exile" 42
[19] Obonsawin "We must Establish a Forum" 4
[20] Maidman *Native People in Urban Settings* 86-91

Select Bibliography

Andres, Renate "The Apprehension of Native Children" *Ontario Indian* 4 no 4 (1981) 32+

Angeconeb, Garnet "Wa-Wa-Ta" *Ontario Indian* 5 no 4 (1982) 16+

Anonymous "Indian Art Treasure" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 2 (1979) 39

- "An Artist who is Indian" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 6 (1979) 9-10
- "A History of the Union of Ontario Indians" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 7 (1979) 34+
- "Put Yer Money" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 7 (1979) 29
- "The Algonquins" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 7 (1979)
- "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 2 no 11 (1979)
- "Canada: You're Killing us with Kindness" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 3 (1980) 21-25
- "Statement of Policy: Indian Rights of Hunting, Fishing, Trapping and Gathering" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 10 (1980) 9-10
- "Ft. William Petition" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 10 (1980) 13
- "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 11 (1980)
- "Brown Pages" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 12 (1980)
- "Results of the Consultation Process" *Cultural Education Centre News* (1980) 6-12
- "Thoughts of Peace - The Great Law" *Ontario Indian* 4 no 10 (1981) 55-57
- "Under the Shell of the Turtle" *Ontario Indian* 5 no 4 (1982) 30+

Association of Iroquois and Allied Indians *Position Paper* unpublished (1971)

Bickley, Lois J. "It's a Festival - Folks" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 11 (1980) 7-10

Bishop, Charles A. "The Emergence of Hunting Territories among the Northern Ojibwa" *Ethnology* 9 (1970) 1-15

Bowles, Richard P. et al (eds) *The Indian: Assimilation, Integration or Separation?* Toronto: Prentice-Hall 1972

Bowsfield, Hartwell (ed) *Louis Riel: Rebel of the Western Frontier or Victim of Politics and Prejudice?* Toronto: Copp Clark 1969

Brown, George and Ron Maguire *Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective* Ottawa: Research Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1979

Burke, James *Paper Tomahawks: From Red Tape to Red Power* Winnipeg: Queenston House 1976

Campbell "Our Culture must be Allowed to Develop" *The Forgotten People* 8 no 1 (1981) 8

Canada *An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada* Chapter 42, 13 and 14 Victoria, 10 August 1850

- *An Act to Repeal in Part and to Amend an Act, Intituled, An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada* Chapter 59, 14 and 15 Victoria, 30 August 1851
- *An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to Amend the Laws Respecting Indians* Chapter 26, 20 Victoria, 10 June 1857
- *An Act to Amend and Consolidate the Laws Respecting Indians* Chapter 18, 39 Victoria, 12 April 1876

Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat *First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Constitutional Matters* (verbatim transcript, unverified and unofficial) Ottawa: Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat 1983

Chiefs of Ontario *Annual Report 1977* unpublished

Chrisjohn, Al "We are many Nations" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 2 (1980) 50

- "The Indian in Exile" *Ontario Indian* 4 no 3 (1981) 42

Copway, George *Recollections of a Forest: Or, the Life and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, or, George Copway, Chief of the Ojibway Nation* Toronto: Canadiana House 1970

Cornelius, Charles J. "Caution Urged on O.R.L.C." *Ontario Indian* 3 no 10 (1980) 4

Daniels, Harry (ed) *The Forgotten People: Metis and non-status Indian Land Claims* Ottawa: Native Council of Canada 1979

Dawson, K. C. A. *Prehistory of Northern Ontario* Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society 1983

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development *Indian Conditions: A Survey* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980

- *Registered Indian Population by Sex and Residence 1979* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1981
- *Annual Review, 1981-82* Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1982

Driben, Paul and Robert Trudeau *When Freedom is Lost: The Dark Side of the Relationship between Government and the Fort Hope Band* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1983

George, Gary H. "Wanted: Indian Writers" *Ontario Indian* 4 no 1 (1981) 58

Graham, Elizabeth *Medicine Man to Missionary: Missionaries as Agents of Change among the Indians of Southern Ontario, 1784-1867* Toronto: Peter Martin 1975

Hatt, Judith K. "History, Social Structure and Life Cycle of Beaver Metis Colony" *Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology* 1 (1969) 19-32

Henderson, William H. *Canada's Indian Reserves: Pre-Confederation* Ottawa: Research Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1980

Herstein, H.H. et al *Challenges and Survival: The History of Canada* Toronto: Prentice-Hall 1970

Jackson, Henry *My 50 Years Experience with Indian Prob-*

lems and the Indian Department unpublished (1950)
Jenness, Diamond *The Indians of Canada* (6th edition) Ottawa: Queens Printer 1963
Johnston, Patrick *Native Children and the Child Welfare System* Toronto: Lorimer 1976
Keeshig-Tobias, Lenore "Re: Wanted Indian Writers" *Ontario Indian* 4 no 3 (1981) 4
Krotz, Larry *Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities* Edmonton: Hurtig 1980
LaFontaine, Robert "Politics and Propaganda" *Ontario Indian* 5 no 6 (1982) 13+
Loft, Jim "Need an Indian Film" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 2 (1980) 6-8
Long, John *Treaty No. 9: The Halfbreed Question 1902-1910* Cobalt: Highway Bookshop 1978
MacLean, Hope *Indians, Inuit and Metis of Canada* Toronto: Gage 1983
MacLeod, Margaret and W. L. Morton *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown: Warden of the Plains of Red River* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1974
McNab, David T. "Hearty Co-operation and Efficient Aid, The Metis and Treaty No. 3" *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 3 no 1 (1983) 131-49
Maidman, Frank *Native People in Urban Settings: Problems, Needs and Services* Toronto: Ontario Task Force on Native People in the Urban Setting 1981
Mercredi, Ovide and Clem Chartier "The Status of Child Welfare Services for the Indigenous Peoples of Canada: The Problem, the Law and the Solution" *Canadian Legal Aid Bulletin* 5 no 2 and 3 (1982) 163-74
Molto, Joseph Eldon *Biological Relationships of Southern Ontario Woodland Peoples: The Evidence of Discontinuous Cranial Traits* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada Mercury Series 1983
Moore, Robert *The Historical Development of the Indian Act* (2nd edition) Ottawa: Research Branch Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development 1978
Morris, J. L. *Indians of Ontario* Toronto: Government of Ontario Department of Lands and Forests
Nagler, Mark *Indians in the City: A Study of the Urbanization of Indians in Toronto* 2nd edition Ottawa: Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology St. Paul University 1973
National Indian Brotherhood *Indian Control of Indian Education* Policy Paper Presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development by the National Indian Brotherhood 1972
Native Council of Canada *A Declaration of Metis and Indian Rights* Ottawa: Native Council of Canada 1979
Nishnawbe-Aski Nation *Brief Presented to the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Prospects for Canada* 1983
Obonsawin, Roger "We must Establish a Forum" *Ontario Indian* 3 no 9 (1980) 4
Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association *Boron Reports Transcript* unpublished, no date
- *OMNSIA* Toronto: Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association pamphlet no date
- *Special Editions* 9 no 2 (1981)
- *Special Editions* 9 no 3 (1981)
- *Special Editions* 9 no 4 (1981)
- *Special Editions* 9 no 5 (1981)
Ontario Metis Association "Native Resource Management: West Patricia Land Use Plan, a Metis Perspective" Brief presented to the Royal Commission on the Northern Environment 1982
Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Culture *Aboriginal Culture Terms of Reference* unpublished 1983
Otterbain, Keith F. "Why the Iroquois Won: An Analysis of Iroquois Military Tactics" *Ethnohistory* 11 (1964) 56-63
Ouimet, Adolphe *La Verite sur la Question Metisse au Nord-Ouest* Montreal: 1889
Petrone, Penny (ed) *First People, First Voices* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1983
Ray, Arthur J. *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Role as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of Hudson Bay 1660-1870* Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1974
Redbird, Duke *We are Metis: A Metis View of the Development of a Native Canadian People* Toronto: Ontario Metis and Non-Status Indian Association 1980
Rickard, A. *Basic Issues and Priorities of Grand Council Treaty Nine* Cobalt: Highway Bookshop 1977
Rogers, Edward S. *Iroquoians of the Eastern Woodlands* Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1970
- *Algonkians of the Eastern Woodlands* Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum 1970
- "Cultural Adaptations: The Northern Ojibwa of the Boreal Forest 1670-1980" in Theodore Steegman, Jr. (ed) *Boreal Forest Adaptations: The Northern Algonkians* New York: Plenum (1983) 85-141
Royal Commission on the Northern Environment *Issues Report* Toronto: Royal Commission on the Northern Environment 1978
Sams, Lance "Indian Children" *Ontario Indian* 5 no 4 (1982)
Schusky, Ernest L. *Manual for Kinship Analysis* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1964
Stewart, Omer "Cart-Using Indians of the American Plains" in *Men and Cultures* Philadelphia: International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences 1960 351-55
Supply and Services Canada *The Canadian Constitution 1981: A Resolution Adopted by the Parliament of Canada, December, 1981* Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services 1981
- *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 4 Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services 1983
- *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Committee on Indian Self-Government* no 16 Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services 1983
Task Force on Canadian Unity *A Time to Speak: The Views of the Public* Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada 1979
Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples *Summary Report of the Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples in Ontario* Toronto: Task Force on the Educational Needs of Native Peoples 1976

Trigger, Bruce *The Huron: Farmers of the North* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1969
Union of Ontario Indians *Brief on changes in the Indian Act* unpublished (1969)
Waubageshig (ed) *The Only Good Indian* (revised edition) Don Mills: New Press 1974
Wesley, David "Heads in the Sand" *Ontario Indian* 5 no 9 (1982) 10
Willey, G. R. and P. Phillips *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1958
Wright, James V. *Ontario Prehistory: An Eleven Thousand Year Archaeological Outline* Ottawa: National Museums of Canada 1972
Woodcock, George *Gabriel Dumont: The Metis Chief and his Lost World* Edmonton: Hurtig 1975
Young, Egerton Ryerson *Stories from Indian Wigwams and Northern Campfires* Toronto: Coles Publishing Company 1970